KOREA FOCUS

SPECIAL ISSUE

PRESIDENT KIM IL SUNG OF THE D.P.R.K. SPEAKS TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

KOREA FOCUS

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Exclusive Interview with the President of the DPRK

For the first time since its founding, the President of the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea, Kim Il Sung, has been given the opportunity to speak directly to the people of the United States. (A previous interview with President Kim Il Sung, conducted by Harrison Salisbury of the New York Times, was never published in full).

We feel pleased and honored to have had this opportunity to become the medium through which this historic event takes place.

Following are the questions presented to the President:

1. In the recent period important victories have been won by the peoples of Indochina, Guinea-Bissau and elsewhere. At the same time there have been fascist coups in such countries as Chile and Uruguay. How would you characterize the present moment as regards the national liberation movements?

2. The Park Chung Hee regime in Seoul has given as a reason for a new wave of repression the delicate nature of reunification efforts. Would you comment on this?

3. The DPRK has warned in recent years of the possibility of a new war breaking out in Korea. Have the chances of war increased or decreased, and what are the factors operating in this situation?

4. With the forced abandonment of UNCURK, U.S. imperialism has suffered an important reverse. However, the "UN" Command remains, giving a cover to U.S. occupation forces in south Korea. How does this effect the national aspirations of the Korean people for reunification?

5. Would you give your estimate of the new mass student and religious protests against the Seoul regime?

6. Since the July 4, 1972 North-South joint statement on reunificaiton, the DPRK has won new diplomatic victories with recognition from several more countries, membership in the World Health Organization (WHO) and the International Jurists Organization and observer status in the United Nations. To what do you attribute these new breakthroughs?

7. With the DPRK's new observer status in the United Nations, there have been periodic rumors of the possibility of state relations between the DPRK and the U.S. being established. What would the necessary preconditions be for the establishment of such relations?

8. What suggestions would you make to the progressive movements and the working people of the United States in their quest for world peace in general, and in Korea in particular?

The editors would like to publicly thank President Kim Il Sung for his courtesy in responding to our questions.

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A Call for Friendship between the

INTRODUCTION

I would like to express thanks to the American-Korean Friendship and Information Center and the editorial board of the magazine *Korea Focus* for giving wide publicity to our people's struggle to build socialism and achieve the independent, peaceful reunification of our country; and for their extensive activities in exposing the fascist dictatorship of the south Korean reactionaries and their nation-splitting policy, as well as U.S. aggression in Korea and interference in the latter's internal affairs.

I believe that the American-Korean Friendship and Information Center and the editorial board of the magazine *Korea Focus* will continue to give active support and encouragement to the revolutionary cause of our people. Now I would like to answer your questions.

You have asked many questions, and for convenience's sake, I would like to answer them in some groups classified according to their messages.

THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

To begin with, I would like to respond on the question of how to characterize the present period in connection with the National Liberation Movement.

Today the peoples' national liberation movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America are making victorious advances. The peoples of these continents, who have long suffered from oppression by imperialism and colonialism, have cast off the colonial yoke and risen as one in the solemn struggle for their countries' independence and national liberation. Many peoples are fighting bravely with arms in hands. Amidst the continuous upsurge of the national liberation struggle a great number of countries have achieved their national independence.

The national liberation movements of the newly independent countries are now gaining in depth and scope, assuming new forms. Holding aloft the banner of anti-imperialism and independence, the peoples of the third world, who were condemned to exploitation and oppression in the bygone days, have resolutely risen in struggle to safeguard their political independence, protect their natural resources and territorial waters and bring about social progress. Under the impact of the courageous peoples' struggles of the third world against imperialist domination and interference and for the liquidation of colonialist hangovers and the realization of independence in all fields—political, economic, military and cultural—imperialism is being shaken to its very foundation.

The imperialists now most bitterly hate and fear the national liberation movements of the third world peoples and are making every possible attempt to strangle them. In order to sway independent anti-imperialist countries to the right and tear them away from the anti-imperialist front, the U.S. imperialists, while interfering in their internal affairs, have in recent years frequently engineered reactionary military coups by bribing and whipping up the reactionaries. The fascist military coup which took place in Chile last year is a striking illustration.

The imperialists' attempt to block the revolutionary struggle of the people by force is folly and absurd; it is nothing but the death-bed struggle of a doomed man. There may be temporary setbacks and turns and twists in the course of the revolutionary struggle. But no force can check the revolutionary advancement and prevent the final victory of the revolution. This is an inexorable law of historical development.

Although the national liberation movements in some countries are now temporarily going through difficulties and tribulations owing to imperialist intervention and plots to overthrow the governments, the general international situation is developing strongly in favor of the revo-

lutionary peoples and to the disadvantage of the imperialists and colonialists.

In terms of the national liberation struggle, the present era can be characterized as a historical turning point when the colonial system of imperialism is crumbling for good and the liberation struggle of the oppressed people to achieve independence and self-reliance is winning the day on an extensive scale.

The days are forever gone when the imperialists dominated the world and decided the fate of the exploited people. Today the oppressed people, who were once deprived of their national independence and sovereignty, and were left outside history, have emerged as masters of the world. The old order is gone when the great powers bargained over the international problems among themselves and disposed of them at will. The newly-emerging force has an ever greater voice and authority to decide international problems. The processes of the recent special session of the United Nations General Assembly on raw materials and development and the 17th Congress of the Universal Postal Union were graphic illustrations of this trend of our age.

The people of the third world, the newly-emerging force, is now a powerful motive force of human history and a great revolutionary force fighting against imperialism. The third world peoples' appearance on the scene of history has brought about a radical change in the international balance of forces and is hastening the doomsday of imperialism.

We are fully convinced that the day will soon come when imperialism and colonialism are wiped out for good by the joint struggle of the third world peoples; and when the national liberation movements of the peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America win complete victory.

THE ROAD TO REUNIFICATION

Now a few remarks on the reunification question of our country. The invariable stand of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of our Republic concerning the country's reunification is to achieve it independently and peacefull, and on a democratic basis. Ever since the day our country was divided into north and south, we have endeavored with perserverance to peacefully reunify Korea by the Korean people themselves without any foreign interference. And we advanced innumerable fair and realistic proposals for reunification.

After the announcement of the North-South Joint Statement on July 4, 1972, we advanced many reasonable proposals to promote the cause of reunification, in conformity with requirements of the Joint Statement, the gist of which is the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity. Most typical of our proposals is the five-point proposition of national reunification—to eliminate military confrontation and ease tension between the north and the south; to realize a many-sided collaboration and interchange; to convene a Great National Congress composed of representatives of people of all walks of life, political parties and social organizations in the north and the south; to institute a north-south Confederation under the single name of the country, Confederate Republic of Koryo, and to enter the UN as a single state under the name, Confederate Republic of Koryo. It is our firm belief that this five-point proposition is most realistic and fair to settle the reunification question in conformity to the will and demand of the entire people in north and south Korea.

Some time ago, an another important step to create favorable conditions to eliminate tension in Korea and facilitate independent and peaceful reunification, we sent a letter of the Supreme Peoples' Assembly to the U.S. Congress in which we proposed concluding a peace agreement with the United States. In the letter we suggested that the peace agreement should provide that: both sides refrain from invading each other, and discontinue military reinforcement and the arms race; the United States not interfere in the internal affairs of Korea nor obstruct its reunification, and withdraw its

troops stationed in south Korea; and Korea not be made a military or operational base of any other country after the withdrawal of the U.S. troops. If a peace agreement is signed between Korea and the United States in accordance with our proposal, tension will be removed in our country; moreover, a most favorable phase will open for the solution of Korea's reunification problem.

Our recent proposals for national reunification are warmly supported and welcomed by the entire Korean people and the progressive people of the world. This clearly testifies to the correctness of our reunification propositions.

Howeve, the rulers of the United States, and the south Korean authorities backed up by them, reject our just proposals for reunification and attempt in every way to check our sincere efforts for their realization.

After the north-south dialogue for reunification started and the North-South Joint Statement was announced, the south Korean authorities further stepped up their acts of national division. Trampling on the unanimous desire of the whole nation for reunification, they publicly announced the "two Koreas" plot aimed at perpetuating the country's division as a "policy," and they are resorting to every possible maneuver and scheme to carry it into effect. As you know, the south Korean authorities attempted to pass a resolution on the simultaneous entry into the United Nations of north and south Korea through last year's General Assembly session, but met with ignominious failure in the eyes of the world's peoples.

Behind the screen of the north-south dialogue the south Korean authorities continue their severe fascist repression of the south Korean people. Taking continuous repressive measures such as proclaiming a "state of emergency," "martial law" and an "emergency measure," they frequently call out army troops and police forces to close down educational institutions and repress the righteous struggle of the students and the people: Central Intelligence agents have been implanted everywhere to watch every move of the people and restrict all their activities. The crooked hands of the south Korean CIA have stretched out even to the Koreans living in Japan and the United States. Of late, the south Korean authorities have trumped up the so-called "case of a spy group" and "case of the General Federation of Democratic Youth and Students" and so on, arresting innumerable youths and students and people of all strata at will, brutally torturing them and conducting murderous court trials to impose severe penalties.

The South Korean authorities allege that all these repressive fascist measures are necessary for the north-south dialogue and reunification, but this is nothing but an absurd pretext. In reality, their repressive measures are aimed at materializing their plot to divide the nation and their wild ambition to remain in power forever.

SOUTH KOREAN MILITARY PROVOCATIONS AND THEIR POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES

The south Korean authorities advocate "peaceful reunification" in word, but, in deed, they persist in war preparations and military provocations. Under the slogan of "modernization of the National Army" they are introducing different types of up-to-date weapons and military equipment into south Korea, and are incessantly carrying out military provocations and war exercises against the northern half of the Republic. This has created a situation in our country which threatens to set off another war at any time.

More specifically, the United States is encouraging the south Korean authorities in the acts of war provocation. It provides them with weapons and military equipment; and it is the United States that abets them in the acts of war provocation.

The Unied States not only eggs on the south Korean authorities to provoke war but also maintains tens of thousands of U.S. troops in south Korea. This is a major factor aggravating tension and engendering the danger of war in our country, and remains the greatest obstacle to reunification.

U.S. TROOPS MUST GET OUT OF SOUTH KOREA

The U. S. imperialists are keeping their troops in South Korea under the name of "UN forces." This is entirely unjustified. Under the "UN Command' 'there are no troops of any other country but the United States which acts solely on orders of the U.S. Army Commander. In fact, they have nothing to do with the United Nations. "UN forces" is nothing but an ostentatious name to cover up the aggressive nature of the U.S. occupation troops in south Korea.

The phantom "UN Command" must be dissolved as soon as possible. In our opinion, the United Nations, whose name has been abused, should pay serious attention to this. As a result of the positive struggle of the Government of our Republic and of many countries, the "United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea," an instrument of U.S. aggression and interference in our country, was dissolved by a decision of the U.N. General Assembly last year. This was a great victory for us and an important step towards the solution of our reunification question. We will likewise strive to dissolve the "UN Command" and thus strip the U.S. occupation army in south Korea of the helmet of the "UN forces," and get it to withdraw.

To remove tension in Korea and facilitate peaceful reunification today, it is necessary to replace the Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement.

The Korean Armistice Agreement signed in July, 1953 is, to all intents and purposes, an agreement on a military truce, and cannot be a guarantee for a lasting peace. Now, over twenty years since its signing, this agreement is out of touch with the present reality in many respects. Therefore, we have more than once proposed to the south Korean authorities to conclude a peace agreement which will ensure a lasting peace in our country. However, they have not listened to our proposals. They do not want to sign a peace agreement, nor are they competent to do so because all real power in south Korea is in the hands of the U.S. imperialists. The whole course of the north-south dialogue clearly shows this.

That is why we deemed it right to discuss the question of concluding a peace agreement directly with the United States whose army troops are stationed in south Korea; which holds all control of south Korea's military affairs; and is a signatory to the Korean Armistice Agreement. We thus proposed to the United States to hold negotiations for the solution of this question.

It is more than two months since we sent the letter to the U.S. Congress, but the U.S. authorities have not yet replied. This means that the U.S. imperialists have not dropped aggressive designs on our country yet, and proves that the "peace" pronounced by them is a sham.

PATRIOTIC STRUGGLES OF THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH KOREA

You asked me to evaluate the struggle of the youth, students and people of south Korea against its authorities. Their struggle is a patriotic struggle to save the country and the nation and to reunify the country.

The courageous struggle they have been waging since last October is dealing a heavy blow to the splitters and reactionaries whose scheme for the permanent division of the nation and suppression of the people.

The ranks of the fighting people in south Korea now embrace large numbers of people from all walks of life, including youth and students, professors, journalists and the religious community. They oppose the scheme of the south Korean authorities to perpetuate national division, fascistization and their policy of dependence on foreign forces; they want reunification of the country and democratization of south Korean society. Due to the fascist tyranny of the south Korean authorities, the youth, students and people of south Korea are now undergoing an ordeal in their struggle, but they will be tempered and attain maturity in this ordeal. Their righteous patriotic struggle will certainly obtain final victory.

GROWTH OF DPRK PRESTIGE AND INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR ITS POLICY OF REUNIFICATION

Now would like to refer to the factors in the great victories the DPRK has won in its foreign relations in recent years.

As you know, with the active support of the socialist countries, the third world nations and the progressive people throughout the world, our Republic has in recent years frustrated U.S. imperialism's policy of isolation and blockade against our country, and won fresh diplomatic victories. In the past few years, the DPRK has established diplomatic relations with scores of countries; it has won membership in a number of international organizations such as the World Health Organization, the Interparliamentary Union and the Universal Postal Union; and it has set up its mission at the United Nations. This now is an international trend: many countries recognize and establish friendly relations with our country and express support and sympathy for our people's revolutionary cause.

Such great diplomatic victories scored by our country are due to the growth in strength of the DPRK and the rise in its international prestige, thanks to the correctness of all the lines and policies of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, and to the great successes our people have achieved in the revolution and construction.

All the lines and policies of our party and the Government of the Republic proceed from the *juche* idea and are permeated with this idea. We shape all our lines and policies for the revolution and construction by creatively doing our own thinking in conformity with the specific conditions of our country and the demands and intersts of our people.

Take for example the basic line of national reunification consistently followed by the Government of our Republic. It is strictly based on *juche*. Our line for reunifying the country independently and peacefully on the principle of democracy is the only correct solution to the question of national reunification by the masters of Korea, the Koreans themselves, in conformity with their wishes and interests. This is why all the progressive people of the world who value justice and peace, not to mention the entire people in north and south Korea who love the country and the nation and are desirous of national reunification, are unanimous in supporting our line of independent and peaceful reunification.

In foreign affairs also, the Government of our Republic strictly maintains an independent and revolutionary position and pursues a straight foreign policy.

In our external activities, we never dance to the tune of others, nor do we act on anybody's orders or instructions. We always solve all problems, big and small, in our foreign relations, including the relations between states, from our own conviction and independent judgment, in conformity with our country's reality and with the lofty aspirations and desires of our people and the people of the world.

The Government of the Republic is striving to promote friendship and cooperation with all the progressive countries, including those in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and to strengthen military solidarity with the revolutionary people of the world.

Our Republic extends its active support and encouragement to the national liberation struggles and the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of all countries against imperialism. In particular, the government of our Republic makes it an iron rule to render unconditional and unreserved support and encouragement to the revolutionary cause of the peoples of the third world fighting to defend their national independence and sovereignty and to build a new society. It also consistently adheres to the line of active struggle against the policy of aggression and war followed by the U.S. and other imperialists, and in defense of world peace and security.

These domestic and foreign policies of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic express not only our people's wishes and longing but also the common aspirations and desires of the world's peoples and fully conform to the contemporary trend of all

countries advancing along the path of independence. That is why all these policies have the active support and sympathy of the socialist countries, the third world nations and all the progressive people of the world.

Heartily subscribing to the correct lines and policies of the Workers' Party of Korea and the Government of the Republic, our people in the past waged a heroic struggle in the high revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and thus converted our once backward agrarian country into a powerful socialist industrial state in a short time. At present we produce for ourselves almost all supplies necessary for the prosperity and development of the country and the livelihood of the people: our economy keeps advancing at a fast rate, relying on our own raw materials and technology, without being affected by the economic upheavals which have swept the whole world.

Our people's great successes in the revolution and construction in the past years have enhanced the might of the DPRK; beyond comparison accordingly, its international prestige has risen higher than ever before. Herein lies a factor in our country's new diplomatic victories in recent years.

Holding aloft the banner of anti-imperialism and independence, and united firmly with the socialist countries, the countries of the third world and all the progressive people of the world, our people will continue to firmly struggle for the victory of the common cause of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism.

DPRK-U.S. RELATIONS

Now I would like to pass to the question of the relations between Korea and the U.S.

Ever since its inception, the DPRK has always developed friendship and cooperation on the principle of equality and mutual benefit with all countries that are friendly towards our country, irrespective of their sizes and social systems. Our country now has state relations with more than eighty countries and promotes trade with over one hundred countries, many of them capitalist.

However, as yet there exist no friendly relations between the DPRK and the United States. This is entirely because the U.S. government pursues a hostile policy towards our country.

You asked me what is the prerequisite for the establishment of state relations between the DPRK and the United States. First of all, the U.S. government should drop its hostile policy and stop aggressive acts against our country.

For nearly 30 years the United States has been occupying the southern half of our country and conducting aggressive acts against our people. Lately, it has sent high-speed, high-altitude reconnaissance planes and helicopters into our air space to conduct espionage and hostile activities, thereby increasing tension in our country. It is introducing various new types of weapons and operational equipment on a large scale into south Korea, and recently is bringing there the newest formations of U.S. fighter-bombers hitherto stationed in Taiwan and Thailand.

The hostile and aggressive policy of the U.S. government towards our country remains unchanged as ever. The U.S. government mouths "peace" in Korea, but, in deed, it is not the least interested in peace. If the United States sincerely wants peace in Korea, it should accept our peace-loving initiative to conclude a peace agreement and drop its hostile and aggressive acts against our country.

As long as the U.S. government persists in aggressive acts against our people without renouncing its hostile policy towards our country, relations between the two countries cannot be improved. How can one establish good relations with a fellow who has intruded into one's house with a dagger in his hand? There can be friendly relations between countries and these relations can be fruitful only when they take a friendly attitude toward one another on the principles of equality and mutual respect.

If the United States is to improve its relations with our country, it should also refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of our country and stop hampering Korea's reunification.

The United States should not impede but should help the reunification of Korea. To do so, it must first of all remove its troops from sout Korea.

The continued stay of U.S. troops in south

Korea runs counter both to the Korean Armistice Agreement, which provides for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea, and to the North-South Joint Statement which gives a pledge that the Korean people will reunify their country independently.

Even from South Viet Nam, where a truce was made last year, the United States has withdrawn its forces. What is the need of maintaining its troops in south Korea until now despite the armistice which was declared more than twenty years ago in our country? It is high time the U.S. forces left south Korea.

In the international arena including the United Nations, the United States should refrain from acts which perpetuate the division of Korea, and should stop taking a unwarranted attitude towards our country. The U.S. government is encouraging the Japanese militarists and the south Korean reactionaries to actively pursue the "two Koreas" plot for the permanent division of Korea. This is a very unfriendly, hostile act against our people. The United States must discontinue such an unfriendly act against our country.

In a nutshell, for the establishment of state relations between Korea and the United States, it is necessary that the U.S. government discard its antagonistic and aggressive policy towards our country and stop impeding Korea's reunification.

Provided these prerequisities are satisfied, we are ready to improve our relations with the United States, although Korea and the United States having differeing social systems and many problems remain unsettled between them.

KOREAN PEOPLE SUPPORT ANTI-IMPERIALIST, PEACE STRUGGLE IN THE U.S.

In conclusion, I should like to give a brief answer to your question whether we have any suggestions to the progressive movement and working people of the United States.

The progressive movements and working people in the United States are waging an unyielding struggle against their reactionary ruling circles' policy of aggression and war; and for world peace and security, and their democratic liberties and rights. The American people's anti-war struggle gives great support and stimulus to the peoples fighting against imperialist aggression, and a heavy blow to the reactionary ruling circles of the United States. The Korean people highly appreciate the just struggle of the U.S. people and express firm solidarity with it.

The progressive people of the United States are raising their voices for the withdrawal of the U. S. troops from south Korea, for peace and an end to U.S. imperialist aggression in Korea. This greatly encourages our people. We express our earnest thanks to the progressive people of the United States for their active support and encouragement to the Korean people who are fighting for the independent, peaceful reunification of their country.

We are convinced that the U.S. people, in union with the Korean people and other peace-loving peoples, will also in the future wage a vigorous joint struggle aaginst the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression and war and for peace in Korea, the Far East and the rest of the world.

I would like to take this opportunity to sincerely wish the American-Korean Friendship and Information Center and the editorial board of the magazine *Korea Focus* still greater success in their future activities.

Statement of DPRK Observer Mission to the UN

From a press statement made on August 26, 1974 by His Excellency, Ambassador Kwan Min Jun, Permanent Observer of the Democrat Peoples Republic of Korea to the United Nations:

"On August 16, Algeria and more than thirty other countries made a joint proposal to inscribe in the provisional agenda of the 29th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, an item under the title of 'On The Withdrawal of all the foreign troops stationed in south Korea under the flag of the United Nations' . . .

"It is a just proposal that reflects the unanimous desires of the Korean people who aspire for the independent, peaceful reunification of their country . . ."

"The question of the Korean reunification is an internal affair of the Korean people, and naturally, it should be solved by the Korean people themselves.

"However, the reunification of the country . . . has not been accomplished till today. . . . It is entirely due to the U.S. imperialists who occupy south Korea under the flag of the United Nations, intervening in the internal affairs of our country, and pursue a national split policy.

". . . the occupation of south Korea by the U.S. troops is a violation of the territorial integrity and sovereignty and runs counter to the objectives and purpose of the United Nations charter stipulating the principle for the non-interference in other's internal affairs. . . .

"As is well known, the United Nations General Assembly last year fully supported the three principles of national reunification indicated in the North-South Joint Statement, and expressed the hope that the dialogue between the north and the south would be continued on these principles. . . .

"Nevertheless, the United States not only refuses to terminate its military occupation of south Korea, but also further intensified its maneuvres of dividing Korea and provoking a new war.

". . . the United States continuously brings into south Korea weapons of combat equipment to accelerate the so-called 'plan for modernization' of the south Korean puppet army, saying that the 'dialogue must be backed with strength,' thereby aggravating the situation to the extreme. . . .

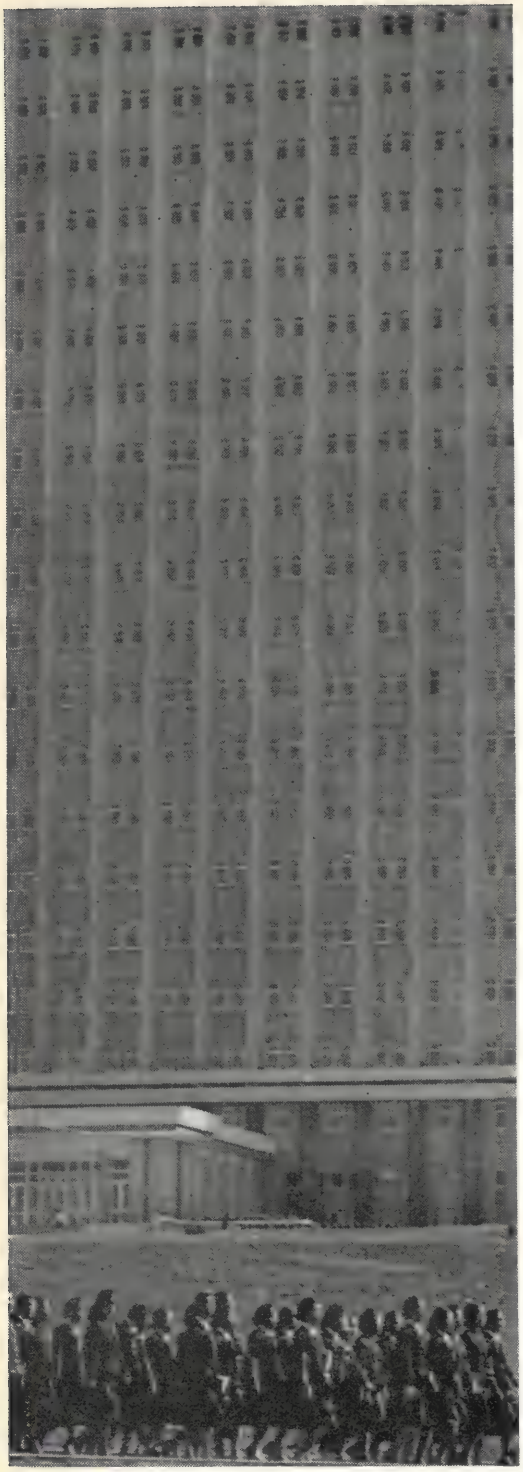
". . . the south Korean authorities have abandoned the North-South statement, further resorting to their policy of depending on outside forces, begging for the perpetual occupation of south Korean by U.S. imperialist aggression forces . . . and crying out for 'unification by prevailing over communism,' while at the same time continuing to commit atrocities and the massacre of the south Korean people. . . .

"The United States continues the occupation of south Korea by its troops, misusing the U.N.'s flag even today when more than 20 years have passed since the realization of armistice in Korea, imposes the misfortunes of national division on the Korean people for a long time and threatens peace and security in the area.

"Under these conditions, the United Nations must direct due attention to it and, on a position of responsibility, should make the U.S. troops withdraw from south Korea and terminate the interference in the internal affairs of Korea.

"We maintain that the U.N. General Assembly this year should discuss the proposed righteous item on the question on Korea and take measures for the immediate withdrawal of the U.S. imperialist aggression troops stationed in south Korea under the flag of the United Nations.

"In the mean time, we are confident that, at the U.N. General Assembly this year, all the peace-loving countries of the world will express full support and solidarity for the line of the Government of the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country and the struggle of the Korean people for its realization."



Students pass 22-story campus building of the Kim Il Sung University in Pyongyang.

26, Going on 27-

Excerpts from a speech delivered by Kim Il, Premier of the Administrative Council of the DPRK, at a banquet in celebration of the 26th Anniversary of the founding of the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea.

"Twenty-six years is only a moment in the long history of our people. During this period, however, changes in the true sense of the word have taken place in our country.

"Our people who, deprived of their country, had lived a bitter life as a ruined nation in the past have become the resourceful people of an independent and sovereign state which no one can dare provoke and the full-fledged masters of a prospering and developing socialist country . . .

"Our people are enjoying an independent and creative life to their hearts' content . . .

(Continued on page 57)

An Editorial

The Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea is currently celebrating its twenty-sixth anniversary as a state. On September 9, 1948 the northern part of Korea became an independent state, formally bringing to a close a centuries-long era of subjugation to foreign states, the most recent and most bitter experience being half a century of Japanese colonialism.

Creation of a new, 16 million strong Korean state was part of the post-World War II triumph of the coming into being of additional socialist states in eastern Europe, and was part of an historical process of the peoples' march forward for the emancipation of mankind from the scourge of enslavement and exploitation of man by man, a march begun with the October socialist revolution in Russia. Along with the peoples of Mongolia, Soviet Central Asia, China and Indonesia, the Koreans ushered in a new era for Asia as

The Anniversary of the Birth of the DPRK

Declaration presented by Vice-Premier Pak Sung Chul on the occasion of the 26th Anniversary celebration of the DPRK held in Pyongyang on September 9, 1974.

In referring to the founding of the DPRK, he declared: "The DPRK is a revolutionary political power which inherited the glorious revolutionary traditions of the fighters led by its great leader, Comrade Kim Il Sung, during the period of the difficult anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle."

"The founding of the DPRK on September 9, 1948 was a great victory won by our people through a protracted struggle for the freedom and independence of the country and an event of historic significance in the revolutionary struggle of our people advancing toward the bright morrow of socialism and communism."

He recalled with pride that "our Korean revolutionary power beat back the armed invasion launched by the U.S. imperialists and their allies to destroy the Republic in its cradle. The people's revolutionary power triumphantly carried out the socialist transformation of the outdated relations of production in town and country in a matter of 4-5 years, set up in this land the socialist system, laid the firm foundation of an independent national economy in a short period and successfully realized the historic task of industrialization in only fourteen years."

He noted: "our industrial output has grown at a high tempo year by year: in 1973 it increased 44.7 times compared with 1948. Particularly, engineering industry made a leaping progress. It is now in a position to manufacture massive large machines and precision machines and can also produce complete sets of equipment for outfitting modern plants."

Pak Sung Chul further stated: "The government of the Republic has built up self-defensive defence capabilities strong enough to beat back any enemy's aggression, safeguard the fatherland and the people and defend the gains of revolution with credit."

Declaring that while the DPRK keeps pow-

(Continued on page 59)

they began the task of liberating a colonial society from the economic backwardness which modern imperialism had wrought upon all colonial societies. Political independence was one of the great steps in an ongoing process of human liberties.

What the creation of the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea signified was the ever-enlarging liberation movement which pointed toward a future socialist world. A people's republic means not only that the political processes were henceforth to work in the interest of workers, but also that all the resources of the national soil were to belong to all the people. The land and all the productive processes which develop resources from the land would now enrich those who carry out the work.

Maturing as a socialist industrial-agricultural nation, the DPRK became another edice in the growing world Socialist community, adding to the luster of the first socialist century. Under the new socialist republic, what a transformation has occurred in the DPRK in only one generation! Every child is now enrolled in a 10-year school program in which the the child learns a scientific view of the world, an appreciation of the national culture of which children are a creative part, an ideology which holds sacred the right of the world's workers to enjoy the fruit of their labor. In this accomplishment of the DPRK lies the certainty of the socialist world of tomorrow, for the children carry within them both a faith in the future of socialist and the technical abilities to contribute to its development.

Currently beyond the midpoint of their Six Year Plan (1971-1976), all of the people of the DPRK are enjoying the fruits of a technical revolution which is the product of two decades of a planned economy under socialism. Literally rising from the ashes and

(Continued on page 63)

From the editor's desk

POETRY BORN IN STRUGGLE

> "He is a tough, idealistic poet, and his biting attacks on corrupt officials and the erosion of human rights have made 33-year-old Kim Chi Ha south Korea's most acclaimed writer. He has also become one of President Park Chung Hee's least favorite citizens: twice Kim has been jailed and tortured. And as Park escalated a campaign to silence domestic protest last spring, he again arrested the chain-smoking poet. After toying with the idea of execution, Park has now sentenced Kim to life in prison."
>
> *NEWSWEEK*

Down through ages of history, people struggling for freedom and justice have always called forth from among their ranks: Peoples heroes! Peoples poets! Peoples minstrels! Peoples songs!

Such a figure today is Kim Chi Ha, poet, critic, patriot, conscience of the Korean people.

One of such history's songs remains Los Quatros Generales.

Los Quatro Generales
" " "
" " "

Mamita Mia,
Que Se Han Alzado
" " " "

This song is now an indestructible part of history. Whenever and wherever men and women come together to give battle to reaction or celebrate victory over fascist scum, LOS QUATRO GENERALES is as much a part of the fare as the soup in the plate or the potato in the mouth.

It was first heard coming from the throats of Spanish workers, peasants, soldiers and especially students in the streets of Madrid, Valencia, Barcelona and other centers of Spain, but especially in the University City of Madrid, the great educational complex of the Spanish students.

They sung lustily Los Quatro Generales in the early days of November 1936 when the

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UNGA IN A WORLD OF FLUX

By JOSEPH BRANDT

(The 29th Session of the UN General Assembly)

"The UN involvement in Korea in 1947-48 was a great cold war victory for the United States. In June 1950, the U.S. with the support of Secretary-General Trygvie Lie, and in the absence of the USSR delegation, obtained United Nations sanction for the *prior* (emphasis ours) U.S. military intervention in Korea. The U.S. government *led* (emphasis ours) the UN into the Korean War; the Truman Administration then claimed that it was *supporting* the Korean War; the Truman Administration then claimed that it was *supporting* the United Nations by providing forces to fight in Korea.

"Utterly swept along by events and U.S. pressure, the UN agreed to the formation of the United Nations Command (UNC) in Korea in July 1950. That Command had the moral prestige of the "world body," carried the UN flag and had *token* (emphasis ours) troop contribution from some UN members. But it was actually an American command with UN elements for window dressing." (From "Without Parallel: The American-Korean Relationship Since 1945," edited by Frank Baldwin, pages 12-13, Pantheon Books, 1974.)

The 29th session of UNGA meets thirty years following the second World War and the liberation of Korea (August 15, 1945) from thirty-five years of Japanese imperialist colonial occupation.

UNGA meets twenty-four years following U.S. imperialist intervention in the internal affairs of the Korean nation and people, splitting the peninsula in half, causing millions of casualties, separating hundreds of thousands of families and the destruction of the wealth and natural resources of an entire nation.

In addition to millions of Korean casualties, the people of the U.S., because of imperialist

(Continued on page 47)

Eyewitness Account

The Spreading Terror in South Korea

From June 28 to July 7, 1974, William J. Butler was in the Republic of Korea to investigate the implementation of martial law and the conditions of political prisoners. On this mission he was the representative of Amnesty International of London, England. Mr. Butler, of Butler, Jablow and Geller, is also the United Nations representative of the International Commission of Jurists and chairman of the Committee on International Human Rights of the Association of the Bar of New York City. KOREA FOCUS reprints below only the concluding sections of a much larger report in which are detailed the names of prisoners, the occasions for their arrest, the torture they suffered, and the procedures of the military courts. What the report describes in full is the process by which Park Chung Hee has attained, in Mr. Butler's words, "total autocratic and totalitarian power over his people." For information on obtaining the complete "Report of Commission to South Korea for Amnesty International," write to Mr. William J. Butler, 400 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017.

The report is 52 pages long, divided into ten sections, including verbatim emergency decrees pronounced by dictator Park Chung Hee, and a list of the current political prisoners, their names, age and profession. The full report can be obtained by writing to Amnesty International, 200 West 72nd St., NYC, 10023.

The introduction and condensed part of Butler's complete report was prepared by Prof. Fred J. Carrier for Korea Focus.

By WILLIAM J. BUTLER

VIII.
CONCLUSIONS OF FACT

Based upon all of the facts, interviews, research and other inquiries made by the author, the following are conclusions of fact:

(1) That approximately 1500 individuals have been arrested by Korean authorities (civilian police and KCIA police) since September of 1972. (Partial lists attached hereto)

(2) That approximately 1100 political prisoners charged or convicted with political crimes are at the present time incarcerated in civilian military prisons throughout the Republic of Korea.

(3) That since April 3, 1974, (the date of the Fourth Emergency Decree) approximately 250 defendants have been arrested and detained, 67 of whom have been tried and convicted and have received penalties ranging from the death penalty to five years of hard labor. A list of such persons is annexed hereto.

(4) That approximately 100 defendants are being detained as violators of Emergency Measure No. 4 and are awaiting trial.

(5) That said trials pursuant to the Emergency Decrees are being held before a military tribunal composed of three military judges and two civilian, pursuant to Emergency Decree No. 2 (attached hereto).

(6) a. That these trials are being conducted "in camera" with the defendants having the right to one lawyer and one relative (spouse or parent) and that all members of the foreign press and foreign legal observers are barred from attending.

b. That the defendants have been consistently and systematically refused their petition to bring witnesses on their behalf before the court on the ground that each of the original 54 defendants confessed to the unlawful acts alleged.

c. That each of the defendants have indicated to their relatives and to their lawyers that the confessions were extracted from them by force and torture using such methods as forcing cold water down the noses of the defendants, prolonged standing against a wall with constant proddings when the individual became tired, lack of sleep, the use of screams and yells from adjoining rooms, and other insidious methods too numerous to describe here.

(7) That no evidence was found from any source indicating a present external and internal threat of communism takeover sufficient to justify such a total denial of human freedom.

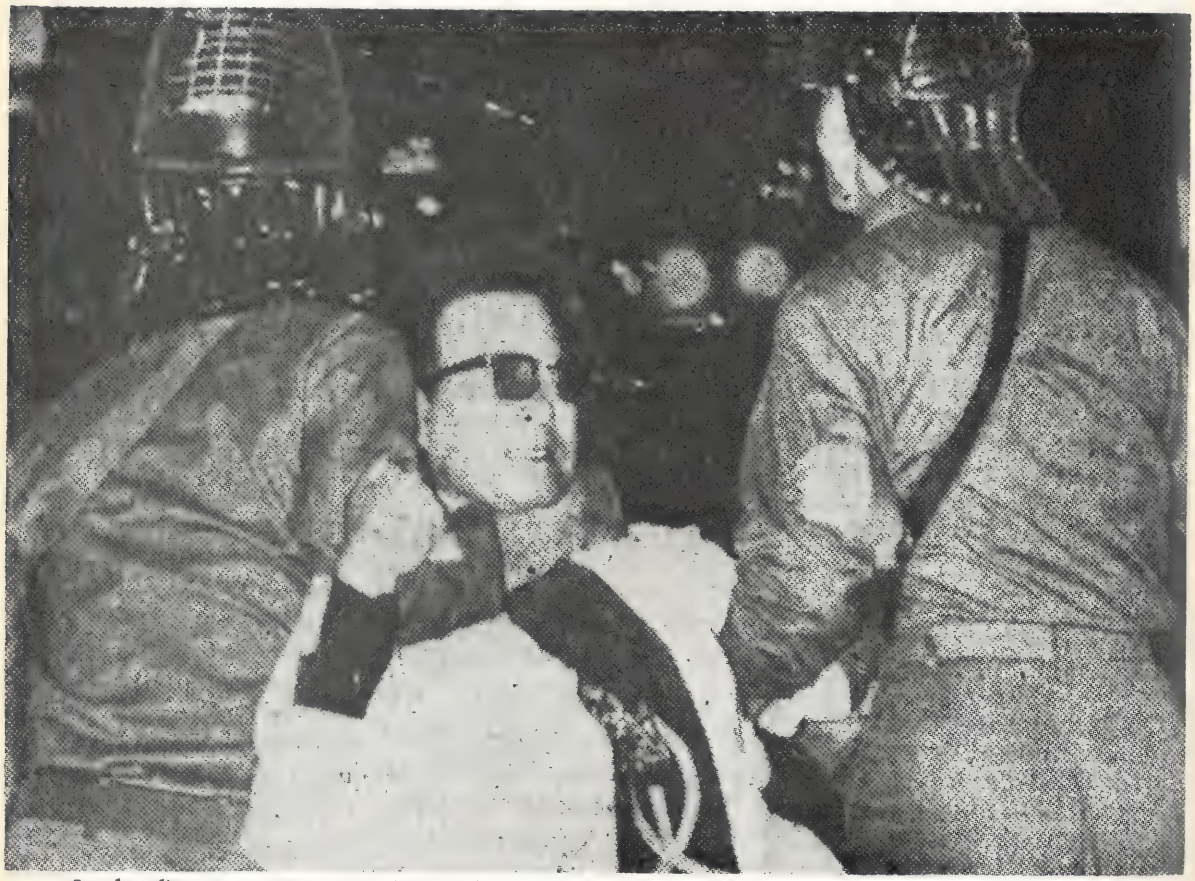
(8) That even if such a threat did exist, the use of torture by any government must be condemned as inhuman and barbarous and not acceptable to any civilized nation.

IX.
GENERAL CONCLUSION

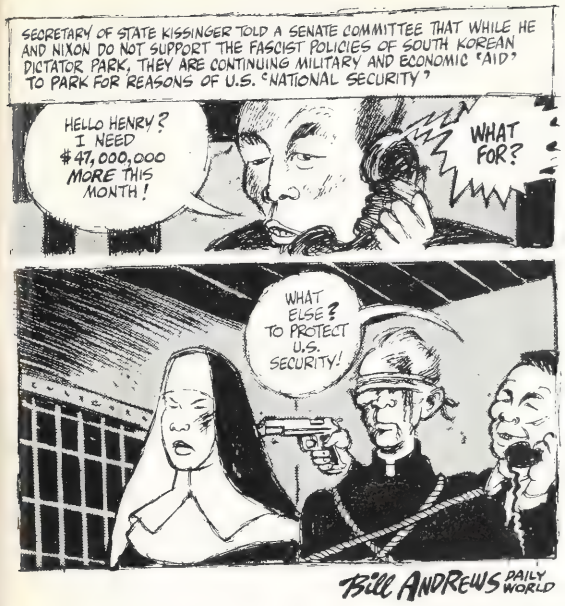
It is respectfully submitted that, since 1971 when the Constitution of Korea was suspended, the government of Korea has been engaged in consolidating autocratic power in the sole control of President Park Chung Hee. This ever-present desire for autocratic power culminated most recently in the creation of the Yushin Constitution which *inter alia*, enabled Park to (i) become President for life; (ii) to suspend the National Assembly and the Government of Korea at any time in his sole discretion; and (iii) to declare martial law and to issue emergency decrees when he in his sole descretion so determined. When opposition against this use of dictatorial powers developed—chiefly among the students, the religious communities and the intelligentsia—harsh and repressive measures were taken by the President by means of Emergency Decrees.

These Emergency Decrees at first merely banned the advocating of a change of the Yushin Constitution and created military courts under the jurisdiction of the Minister of Defense to deal with any offenders. Hundreds of people, however, were arrested and incarcerated for mere advocacy and sentenced to up to 15 years in jail. Among some of these defendants were 11 Protestant ministers now incarcerated by the Korean police.

In February and March of this year, when students refused to accept these mandates and threatened to hold mass meetings against the government, a new and most vicious decree was issued providing for the death penalty for



Seoul police arrest Roman Catholic priest during demonstration against the Park Chung Hee regime.



anyone who, "among other things, absented himself from school or refused to attend classes or take examinations."

In carrying out this quest for total domination of the population, the police regularly and systematically engaged in acts of torture.

To date, 5 defendants have been finally sentenced to death, and 62 to prison terms, at hard labor, running from 20 years to life (see list attached). The trials are still continuing.

On the whole, it is the opinion of the author that most of the recent defendants, if not all, are fundamentally and basically anti-communist and are the victims of measures taken by the South Korean government to repress those Koreans who are struggling to keep the cause of democracy alive in their country.

X.
RECOMMENDATIONS

1. It is the sense of this report that Amnesty International should urge the Government of Korea to:

(a) immediately decree that henceforth all forms of torture inflicted by Korean CIA and police officers be absolutely prohibited with severe penalties for any violations of such decree;

(b) immediately terminate the Emergency Decrees Nos. 1, 2 and 4 as not being presently necessary to protect the security of the State or to maintain public order; and

(c) grant to all those arrested, indicted or sentenced pursuant to Emergency Decrees Nos. 1 and 4 a general amnesty, thereby releasing them from detention.

2. That if the foregoing is not forthcoming, then it is recommended that Amnesty International carry out the following actions:

(a) join with its sister organizations, The International Commission of Jurists and the International League for the Rights of Man, in the sending of international legal observers to the trials and appeals of political dissidents in Korea, including, but not limited to, the trials and appeals of Yun Po Sun, Kim Dae Jung and others;

(b) request the Korean Government to allow members of the foreign press to attend all trials and appeals of political dissidents;

(c) present the details of these cases to the United Nations by filing a complaint with the Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities pursuant to the resolutions of the Economic and Social Council Nos. 1235, 1503 and 728-F as constituting a "consistent pattern of reliably attested gross violations" of human rights;

(d) that representatives of Amnesty International, by testifying before appropriate Senate and House Committees of the United States Congress, urge the suspension of all economic and military aid to the Republic of Korea pursuant to Section 32 of the Foreign Aid Law of 1973-74;

(e) circulate copies of this report to all foreign business firms doing business in Korea, to the United States Chamber of Commerce and to the World Chamber of Commerce as well as all appropriate governments, universities and prominent individuals having relations with Korea;

(f) that a request be made to the Korean government for a detailed list of all political prisoners held by the Korean government, together with a status report on the arrest and detainment of each prisoner set forth in the partial list of prisoners annexed hereto.

(g) request the immediate release of attorney Kang Shim Ok whose incarceration constitutes an improper and illegal restraint on his fundamental right to practice law.

AN OPEN LETTER TO KISSINGER

NOTE: The following is from a release in September 1974, by Yongjeung Kim, President of the Korean Affairs Institute in the U.S.A. He is the Dean and most distinguished bourgeois-nationalist spokesman and leader of Korean residents of the U.S.A. Excerpts of the statement follow.

Mr. Secretary, please allow me to speak bluntly regarding the problem of my motherland. I feel deeply that this is a propitious time to bring this grave matter to your attention. The Korean Civil War ended 21 years ago, yet the American military forces are the only foreign troops that still remain in that sorely tried land.

Regrettably, the U.S. armed forces are stationed there not for the purpose of promoting the freedom and rights of the Korean people, but to protect and support a corrupt, cruel regime which rules by martial law, emergency decrees, police surveillance and brutality, kidnapping and imprisoning political opponents, including students and clergymen, gagging the press, and outlawing freedoms of speech and assembly—except for those for and by the rulers. This U.S. ally, the Park regime, hitches its wagon to magical "anti-communism." It terrorizes the people on the pretext of protecting them from the communists; it seeks American support with allegation of fighting communism; and it blames its failures and shortcomings on the broad shoulders of the communists. The disillusioned Korean people regard the U.S. support of such a regime as a contravention of the high purpose for which it entered their country in 1945 as a "liberator" with messages of democracy and freedom.

By nurturing the despotic Park regime the United States is effectively nullifying its own democratic principles of freedom and humanitarianism in full view of the downtrodden masses who hoped that America would help free them from the ever-tightening yoke of injustice. Instead, they are being pushed into the vicious jaws of power-hungry rulers. It appears that the United States has become a senior partner of the police-state establishment, and Seoul an appendage of Washington. If this tyranny is tolerated, how can American reconcile itself with its own conscience and uphold the spirit of 1776 which made it so great?

The Korean people now painfully realize that as long as the United States protects their degenerating regime with arms and money, not only are the people rendered powerless to redress their grievances, but their families will remain separated and their coluntry divided. It is a well known fact that the Park regime is using American weapons to suppress its people and to maintain the division of the homogeneous nation. The discontented people are now begining to doubt American intentions. Moreover, the silenced masses cannot speak out of their grievances and their pent-up resentments continue to smolder.

PARK CHUNG HEE REGIME AGAINST REUNIFICATION

Notwithstanding its outworn propaganda and patriotic allegations, the Park regime actually does not want any national reunification. It prefers the status quo so that it may continue to enjoy American bounties because it does not have loyal popular support and fears the people under its control. Its recent rhetoric on national reunification is merely lip-service to calm the ever-flaming popular desire for the restoration of national unity. But, the Korean people will never cease to fight until they are reunited.

Moreover, the Seoul regime is again trying to hoodwink the Americans into providing more arms and protection by blaiming its northern counterpart for its own intransigence which is blocking progress toward reunification. The fact is the Pyongyang regime has been proposing to reduce armed forces to 100,000 men or less for each side, to resume trade, to launch joint economic developments and to widen their social and political contracts.

Why is the American ally with a population of nearly three times that of the north and for tified with the world's fourth largest army so fearful of its counterpart in Pyongyang? The latter has never received as much in arms and

money from both Russia and China combined as has the Seoul regime from the United States. Something must be wrong.

. . . the United States sacrificed tens of thousands of its young men and expended billions of dollars in south Korea only to beget a grotesque police-state regime that is tyrannical and a dictatorship.

Why must this most powerful nation on earth depend so much on its unscrupulous ally that represents only half of Korea to shield its "national security"? Is it not obvious that the rulers in Seoul are not concerned about anyone's "national security" except the "security" of their own power and fortune?

It was a widely publicized fact that the Johnson Administration in its desperation virtually bribed President Park Chung Hee and Kim Jong Pil (Premier) into sending innocent Koreans to fight and die with the Americans in the Vietnamese civil war.

Honoring its commitments to a "staunch ally," the Park Chung Hee regime, has been a fixed moral position of Washington. But how about honoring its commitments to the people who are suffering under the harsh rule of its ally? Can the every-mounting repression in Korea be a source of American pride?

Mr. Secretary, I am sure, you are fully aware that the Seoul regime exists solely on American support and has become a liability, morally, politically and economically. No matter how much in arms and money the United States pours into south Korea, it will not gain the good will or respect of the disenchanted people until it honors the democratic principles it has been preaching.

In order to promote friendly relations between our two nations and peace in Korea, the desires and inalienable rights of the victimized people should be respected. *The only fair and honorable policy for the United States would be to withdraw promptly all its armed forces from the unhappy land and leave the unfortunate people alone to determine their national destiny in freedom. I think such a judicious move will better serve American "national security."*

Yours faithfully,
Yongjeung Kim

Book Review

U.S. PENETRATION IN AFRICA

U.S. Neocolonialism in Africa by Stewart Smith International Publishers 1974, New York 270 pp, $2.95.

By THOMAS RIGGINS

This first U.S. edition of Stewart Smith's *U.S. Neocolonialism in Africa* (originally printed in Moscow by Progress Publishers, 1974) is a welcome addition to the growing arsenal of anti-imperialist literature appearing in English and produced by theoreticians from the Socialist countries. Henry Winston, in his forward, calls the book a must for all "those people of the United States—white and Black"—who are "determined to end the crimes of U.S. imperialism against the peoples of Africa."

Smith's work has a wider significance than just Africa, however. The role of U.S. imperialism here depicted will be familiar, in general outline, to students of Latin America, Asia and other areas of the Third World. Smith is especially cogent in indicating, for instance, that one of the major imperialist arguments, (i.e., ascribing economic and cultural retardation to ethnic considerations) has been exploded by the advancement of the economic and cultural components of social life in hitherto stagnant regions after the establishment of Socialism—specifically, North Korea, North Vietnam, China, Mongolia and Soviet Central Asia.

In the first of two brief introductory chapters, Smith argues that African traditional socio-economic structures are "secondary and subordinate" to more recent African and world forces. In the second he recounts the role of American Blacks in African independence—i.e., the Pan-African movement led by Dubois which was predominantly bourgeois and organized on "racial lines, rather than . . . on class lines."

The main thrust of the book is an extended

essay on the economic, political, ideological and military aspects of the U.S. presence in Africa. He devotes a great deal of space to a thorough analysis of U.S. policy in Black Africa as well as in "the two strategic centers of U.S. imperialist policy"—viz., "the Israeli-Arab complex" and the "southern Africa settler complex."

After outlining the factors which have conditioned U.S. African policy to be basically political rather than economic (small amount of U.S. direct investment in Black Africa), Smith goes on to name U.S. government officials whose policies *were* determined by direct economic involvement in the country. Examples are James Byrnes who left the State Department to work for Dulles' old law firm which represented American Metal Climax (whose tumescent profits led 15,000 Namibian mineworkers to strike in 1972, protesting a mere $300 a year for their labor power) and ex-Treasury Secretary Douglas Dillon who now heads the banking firm which handles South Africa's bond flotations. This is the real type of Watergatism which the capitalist system breeds and upon which it sustains itself.

Imperialism's role in the 1966 coup in Ghana is also all too clear. The sabotage of the 1964 Seven Year Plan and the deposing of Nkrumah has at least answered what was for Africans, until then, an open question—i.e., "whether foreign capital would be satisfied to cooperate, and to restrict itself to purely economic activities, in a state pursuing progressive social aims." It should now be quite apparent that for capitalism there is no such thing as "purely economic activities."

Smith is excellent in pointing out the qualitative differences between western programs and Socialist programs vis-a-vis Africa.

Whereas American aid stifles the economic development of African nations and ends up actually injuring its recipients, while at the same time enriching the imperialist countries, Smith shows us how Socialist aid builds up the economics of the African countries and leads to their greater economic independence. Smith also demonstrates that far from being self-enriching, even bourgeois sources admit that Soviet aid results in real sacrifices being made by the Soviet people to their own economic development. Nothing more clearly points up the difference between socialist and capitalist relations to the emerging nations—nor more adequately expresses the principles of internationalism—than this basic fact of Soviet foreign aid. The same progressive role is played by socialist trade relations.

Smith provides some interesting figures on the size of the workers' movement in Africa. There are, for instance, "not more than three million" full fledged proletarians (workers living on wages alone) in all of Africa. There are, however, eighteen to nineteen million semi-proletarians (part-time wage laborers). In 1967 the total number of African Communists was sixty thousands, located "mainly in the Maghreb and South Africa, and more recently in Senegal, Nigeria, Basutoland."

Smith also exposes the non-progressive nature of certain "romanticized backward looking views" which go under the names of "Negritude" (Leopold Senghor's views) and so-called "African Socialism"—a pot-pourri of reactionary views encouraged by imperialism and often hostile to Marxism.

Finally, Smith analyzes one of imperialism's major ideological stands vis-a-vis the Soviet Union and the Third World, one of the constant themes it stresses to justify its penetration of, and stranglehold on, many countries. This is the attempt to place the "Soviet Union as a 'big power' (or 'super-power')* on the same footing with imperialist states, or portraying her as a successor of Russian Tsarism; by fanning right-wing nationalism against anti-imperialist internationalist forces (the natural and major allies of the national liberation movements) and by inviting a deal with the United States, since it holds the 'key' to settlement."

This book is fully indexed, and fully footnoted at the bottom of each page.

* "Super power" is an anti-Soviet, anti-communist phrase invented by the Maoist Junta and presented by them to the U.S. imperialist warriors in their ideological battles against the proponents and architects of the policy of detente and peaceful co-existence. It was presented to the cold war rear-guard atom-bomb warfare maniacs who, in their dying cold war days keep recalling with self-pity, sorrow and pain, the glorious time when they had a monopoly at atomic destruction of mankind, and were restrained and stopped from using it. (Editor.)

Thomas Riggins is a teacher of Philosophy, Anthropology and World Civilization.

Dirty War in Korea 1950-1953

The Story of Resistance on the homefront

INTRODUCTION By JOSEPH BRANDT

Debunking pseudo-history is a long-neglected task that will one day, we hope, be carried through by our society with considerable gusto.

Our educational institutions, text books, research institutions, educators, above all the hired apologists and defenders of the declining, capitalist system have for a long time served the brainwashing superstructure of monopoly capitalism by outright lying, perverting, falsifying historical truth.

One of the most glaring examples is the way the people have been sold a bill of goods regarding the U.S. war of aggression against the Korean people during 1950-53.

There are two variants being peddled in history books and educational institutions. It starts from the "cradle" elementary schools and goes all the way to the prestigious Ivy League educational institutions.

Tons of volumes could be written about how they falsify or at best ignore such great historical events as slavery in the United States; the inception, development and role of immigration and the immigrants in building our nation's industrial might; the role of labor in our society, its organizations, struggle and contributions; the role and strength of the Black people, their leaders and contributions to the building our nation and its culture. As for the role and contribution of women, most history text books don't even recognize that they are part of the human race.

Similarily, with the question of war and peace. In what text books, in what institutions have there been taught and developed the postulates of just unjust wars, the character and cause of imperialist war aggrandizement; the meaning of colonialism and neo-coloniaism and the class forces of society responsible?

Our entire educational system, the media, the superstructure of our capitalist society is structured not to educate but to confuse; not to inform, but to misinform; not to explain logic and tell the truth, but to lie and slander. In short, to brainwash. Such is the character of this system of education.

With respect to the handling of the Korean War, the variants practiced by the brainwashing machine are:

A persistent red-baiting, Soviet-baiting, "Red" China-baiting line that the 1950 war in Korea was started by the north Koreans at the instigation of the Russians and the Chinese.

Korea Focus has and, with a small handful of authors, will continue to expose the big lie. We will continue to expose and debunk the CIA agents using the cover of professors, scholars, "distinguished journalists and authors," who write such trash.

The second variant of the historical bluff that needs debunking is that the people of our country "did not resist the anti-communist Korean War" and "gave all-out enthusiastic support to the Korean War policies of the government."

In this, the first of a series of three articles John Hitz, a Marxist and an educator, after weeks of patient research, interviews and reading mountains of press and public documents, has prepared Article I which starts in this issue.

To place these articles in their proper social-historical content, we present as part of this introduction, the view of the most militant and resourceful of the opponents of the 1950 Korean War of aggression—the Communist Party USA. For their opposition Communist leaders spent years in McCarthyite jails in the 1950s.

The National Chairman of the Communist Party, the Black people's leader, Henry Winston, had his eyesight destroyed by the jailers, coming out from years of imprisonment, blind for life.

We present as part of this introduction to the series of three articles by Mr. Hitz, extracts of a section of a report presented by the General Secretary of the Communist Party, Gus Hall, (himself a political prisoner for many years and for a time a political refugee in Mexico) to a Plenary Session of the party, September 19-20, 1950, 4 months after the war in Korea started,

and a few short months before he and dozens of other communist leaders were jailed by McCarthyism, for opposing the Korean War.

Gus Hall stated:

"We are now moving into the fourth month of death-dealing, plundering military aggression by U.S. imperialism. American boys are giving their lives by the thousands and are killing thousands of the liberty-loving civil population of Korea, in order further to stuff the already overstuffed coffers of the belly-robbing, filthy-rich American Sixty Families. We are going into th efourth month of unjust war, of criminal, imperialist aggression which is being waged in the interests of Wall Street's monopolies and trusts, in the interest of the rubber, oil and tin magnates.

"The heroic people of Korea are fighting and shedding their blood in the common cause of all peoples of Asia struggling for their national liberation. They are fighting in the interest of world peace; and what the American people must begin to understand is that the best interests of the great majority of our own people lie in a liberated, unified and democratic Korea, which will be an additional force for world peace. *Therefore, one cannot render a greater service to our own people and to world peace than to demand the withdrawal of all American forces from the soil of Korea as well as from other foreign lands.*

Paul Robeson, left, shakes hands with W. E. B. DuBois. Black leaders were prominent in opposition to the U.S. role in Korea.

"We cannot evade the responsibility that in the name of our nation and people, under MacArthur's command, American soldiers, American airmen, are murdering, are wiping out towns and villages, are massacring unarmed people—the young and the aged—are committing crimes that for violence and vileness compare only with those of the madmen of Hitler.

"World humanity is today filled with indignation and holds the American nation responsible for these crimes. While it is true that the financiers and industrialists are responsible for the aggression in Korea and for the whole imperialist war policy, it is also a fact that the American people, including the working class, has the power and the duty to stop the warmakers, to save the honor of America. This is the great and solemn task, the historic test confronting our class and our people. This is the summons in this fateful hour of the Communist Party—to our labor movement, to our people, to all Americans who prize peace and democracy and hold life dear. It is not yet too late to avert the terrible price paid by the German people, to avert the judgment of humanity which the German people, including the working class, brought down upon themselves for failing to heed the call of their Communist Party for united resistance to Hitler, and for accommodating themselves to fascism and its policy of aggression, conquest and genocide . . .

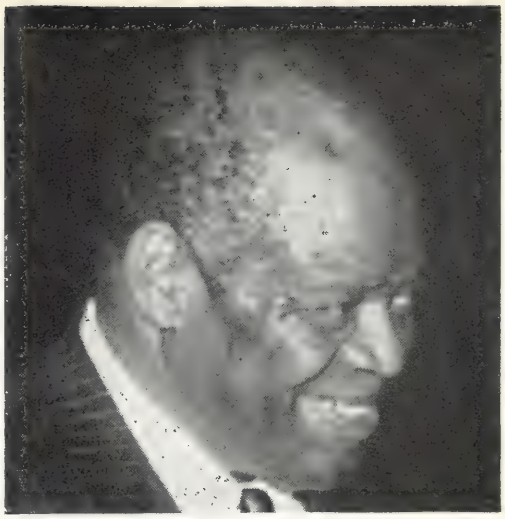
"On the contrary, manpower and every type of weapon, airpower and naval forces are pumped into Korea on a scale not seen since the invasion of Europe during World War II. The invaders at first made up with B-29s, tanks, bazookas and artillery for the shortage of manpower and lack of fighting morale. Now, however, it is clear that there is no shortage of manpower and the War Department is scraping the bottom and shipping in as much as space permits on the small territory of Korea.

Despite this greatly increased array for force, unless the unforeseen happens, the imperialist forces are in for a long, protracted and costly war. Such a protracted war is no longer unusual in the national liberation struggles of Asia and the Far East. In their dirty war against the people of Viet Nam the French have been checked for over five years. And after five years of heavy casualties and cost in materiel, the French forces are in control of only ten percent of the territory. . . .

"And we in the United States should especially be proud of the heroic fighters for national liberation in the Philippine Islands. All this represents a new quality of the national liberation struggles and it is to be expected that the forces of U.S. imperialism will meet similar prolonged, stubborn resistance wherever they seek to enslave the people by armed force.

"The grave danger of the war in Korea, is that the U.S. imperialists will spread it to China and other parts of Asia. This danger has greatly increased of late. As the idea and the talk of passing the 38th Parallel spreads, the danger of the war in Korea flaming into a world war increases. For it is clear that any attempt to pass the 38th parallel would involve a threat to more than the people of Korea.

"We must not overstate, nor should we underestimate, the peace potential indicated by the American people's lack of enthusiasm for the military aggression in Korea. The working class of Western Europe are far from showing any signs of becoming pawns of U.S. imperialism. The camp of war has not become stronger. If anything, it has been further weakened. There is nothing on the record to warrant pessimistic, fatalistic conclusions. . . ."



Henry Winston

Gus Hall

By John Hitz

ARTICLE 1

This article attempts to describe the peace movement in the U.S. during the first year of the Korean war, June 1950 to June 1951. For those politically active on the left during 1950-51, what is said below will refresh mostly painful memories. For others, some idea, I hope, will be transmitted of the power of the ruling class when it musters all its forces, and the power of determined people who refuse to yield.

The establishment press faithfully reported the Administration line on the Korean War, i.e., that it was caused by North Korean "aggression"; that the U.S. was altruistically upholding the integrity of the international system, etc. The press attempted during 1950-51 to convince people that the choices in Korea were two: either continue the Truman policy of slugging it out on the ground and in the air

"People who are shown by their inner light the possibility of a better world based on the demand of the spirit for a nobler and more abundant life, not for themselves at the expense of others, but for everybody, are naturally dreaded and therefore hated by the Have-and-Holders, who keep always in reserve two sure weapons against them. The first is a persecution effected by the provocation, organization, and arming of that herd instinct which makes men abhor all departures from custom, and, by the most cruel punishments and the wildest calumnies, forces eccentric people to behave and profess exactly as other people do. The second is by leading the herd to war, which immediately and infallibly makes them forget everything, even their most cherished and hardwon public liberties and private interests, in the irresistible surge of their pugnacity and the tense preoccupation of their terror."

—George Bernard Shaw, Appendix to "Androcles and the Lion"

with "conventional weaponry," the consequences being high U.S. casualties and probably a battlefield stalemate; or adopt the policy advocated by MacArthur, Herbert Hoover, and Taft of unleashing Chiang-Kai-shek, attacking China and eventually the USSR, and using atomic weapons if necessary. As C. B. Baldwin of the Progressive Party said in 1951: "Truman, Dewey and Eisenhower on the one hand, and Hoover and Taft on the other, offer two approaches to war. Neither reflects the true desire of the American people for peace."

The majority of the U.S. people undoubtedly accepted this version of the Korean War but there was a great deal of apathy and confusion. For example, many thought Taft was for peace when he opposed a ground war in Asia and urged a troop pull-out. They did not take cognizance of his corollary: that air and naval power be directed against China and the USSR, the probable result being World War III. This confusion is reflected in two Gallup polls, one in January 1951 and the other in April 1951, just after MacArthur's ouster by Truman. In the first poll 66% favored a troop withdrawal with 29% opposed.

In the second poll 62% were against MacArthur's removal and 29% approved. In evaluating these polls, we should remember that MacArthur's views were very close to those of Taft and other spokesmen of the Republican right.

The widespread feeling that the Republicans would extricate the U.S. from Korea while achieving a painless victory over "communism" was reflected in the November 1950 Congressional elections. The Democrats lost 5 Senate seats and 28 House seats.

The 82nd Congress was even more in the grip of the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition than the 81st. This is specially clear if we note that of the 49 Democratic senators in the 82nd Congress, 22 were from the former Confederate States and almost to a man Dixiecrat. There were exceptions, of course, like Kefauver of Tennessee, each of whom was balanced by two reactionary northern Democrats. It should be added here that 1950 saw Congressman Richard M. Nixon defeat Helen Gahagan Douglas for the U.S. Senate from California, in one of the most vicious redbaiting campaigns ever.

The establishment media almost entirely ignored the peace movement. As a result, the peace alternative was never presented to vast numbers of the U.S. people. And when it was mentioned, it was usually portrayed as a "communist plot," as in a HUAC report of early 1951, which called the world peace offensive "the most dangerous hoax ever devised by the international communist conspiracy."

U.S. atrocities in Korea were rarely given coverage in the press. One example is the 41-day terror bombing of Wonsan, not reported until six weeks after its occurrence and then given little prominence. I. F. Stone wrote:

"He (Rear Admiral Allen E. Smith, USN) described life under bombardment in this city of 35,000 people. 'In Wonsan,' he told the press, 'you cannot walk in the streets. You cannot sleep anywhere in the twenty-four hours, unless it is the sleep of death.' The Admiral said his guns had reduced the population to 'suicide groups' and that two other ports in the same area, Songjin and Chongjin, were being given the same kind of continuous bombardment."

Of course, alleged atrocities by the "enemy" were headline news, although most of these stories turned out to be baseless. And even if all *alleged* atrocities by Koreans and Chinese during the entire war were put together, they would not begin to match the ghastliness of Wonsan, which was repeated in scores of other Korean cities and towns.

The racism manifest in 1950-51 was extraordinary compared to 1974, even though it is still virulent. A few instances will show this. The Ku Klux Klan was on the rise all over the South and in some parts of the Middle West. In the *Daily Worker* in September 1950, James Jackson vividly described an attack by the KKK on a Black dance hall in South Carolina. . . . Congressman Lanham, Democrat of Georgia, managed to call William Patterson, head of the Civil Rights Congress, a "Black son of a bitch" in a congressional hearing and escape censure. Another, John Rankin of Mississippi, told Congress, in support of one of the 1950 anti-Communist bills:

> *"there is not a single Christian or a single white gentile among these communists which I have just named, who have been plotting the overthrow of this Government and the destruction of our Christian civilization; if we fail to pass this bill and to take every other step necessary to protect our people against these enemies within our gates then 'God Save America.'"*

This statement also shows the anti-Semitism at this time.

In December 1950, Dr. Percy Julian, world-renowned Black chemist responsible for discovering the chemical properties and usefulness of soybeans, moved to Oak Park, Illinois, an all-white suburb of Chicago, in spite of all kinds of protests and threats. On June 13, 1951, his house was bombed for the second time and almost totally destroyed.

Blacks in the military during the Korean War were singled out for persecution. World War II veteran Lieutenant Gilbert was sentenced to death in September 1950 for allegedly "refusing to obey orders under fire." Thurgood Marshall, then an attorney for the NAACP, visited Japan and found that the military prisons there held Blacks in numbers far out of proportion to the percentage of Black soldiers. In the armed forces a movement began in the U.S. to save Lt. Gilbert and other victims of racist repression in the military.

1950-1951 was also a time of tremendous suffering for the Puerto Rican people. Due to the continuing depression of the U.S.-controlled Island economy, hundreds of thousands of Puerto Ricans were coming to the U.S. to find a better life. Many found only an extension of the misery they had experienced at home, compounded by vicious racial and cultural discrimination.* Those who protested against Puerto Rico's colonial situation were dealt with harshly. Among these was the leader of the Puerto Rican Nationalists, Pedro Albizu Campos, framed on a charge of attempted murder and sentenced to ten years in prison in February 1951.

While the U.S. was systematically destroying Korea, it was rearming West Germany and Japan, allegedly to protect Western Europe and Asia from "communism." All measures agreed upon by the World War II allies for the disarmament of Germany and Japan were scrapped, including the agreement of dismantling the cartels which in both countries had such a large role in starting and continuing the war. At the same time imprisoned war criminals like Alfred Krupp were being released. In the U.S., war criminals like Polish General Wladyslaw Anders, responsible for the massacre of thousands of Jews at Kielce, was formally greeted by Governor Dewey and Senator Lehman, leading Zionist Jewish Banker, at the 1950 Pulaski Day parade, at which six-year-old children were seen carrying placards and banners saying "The 38th Parallel-Beyond to Moscow" and "Let's not stop with Korea." I shall not go further into the well-documented cases of support by the U.S. government, including leading U.S. Zionists and Jewish controlled financed media-radio, TV and press, for Nazi and former Nazi "refugees" from Eastern Europe, except to say that such support was massive and well-organized.

By 1950, Hollywood had been nearly purged of progressives, and John Howard Lawson and Dalton Trumbo of the Hollywood Ten began their prison sentences for refusing to testify to HUAC in June 1950, the month the Korean War broke out. Blacklists were growing long, affecting more every month.

Red Channels, a smear sheet published by

ex-FBI agents, was making profits and ruining lives by "naming" alleged Communists and Communist sympathizers. Acts of cowardice by Hollywood "star" were legion. As one example, Joe Ferrer, in May 1950 told HUAC that he had supported Communist causes out of ignorance, vowed that he would shun such causes in the future, and even recommended outlawing the Communist Party. But the hysteria produced ironies also. Maurice Chevalier, a notorious Nazi collaborator, was barred from the U.S. because he had signed a petition advocating world peace!

Many movies were made on the Korea War, unlike the Vietnam war, glorifying the great job "our boys" were doing massacring the "yellow hordes" in Korea. (See footnote 2.) Noteworthy here was a film called *The Steel Helmet*, in which an American soldier shoots a Korean prisoner of war in cold blood. Of course, there were others not so blatant, such as one I remember which explores the love and other personal problems of William Holden while he is strafing Korean villages in his Sabre jet. Children of all ages were exposed to films of this sort, as well as to comic books which repeated the same racist, jingoist themes.

By 1950, due to the Taft-Hartley Law, Communists could not hold office in labor unions. The AFL even barred them from union membership. Most industrial unions had been, in the late 1940's, thoroughly purged of Communists and progressives, who in the 1930's organized workers into the CIO. Unions that remained progressive were systematically raided by the increasingly reactionary leadership of the AFL and the CIO, then separate organizations, headed respectively by William Green and Philip Murray. The attitude of the labour bureaucracy could be summed up by a November 1950 statement of Murray:

> *"If and when the time comes in the U.S. that there has to be universal regimentation to fight off communism on a world-wide basis, then labor is prepared to do its part, with the distinct understanding that every other citizen is required to make equal sacrifices. This is everybody's war."*

James Carey, head of the International Union of Electrical Workers, said in 1950 that he would even join with fascists to fight communism.

Labor leadership was retrenching on progressive policies all down the line. For example, at the November 1950 CIO convention, of 557 delegates only 7 were Black and only 5 were women. During the CIO's more progressive days, 20 to 25 per cent of the delegates to conventions had been Black. And in October 1950 the CIO came out in support of "separate but equal schools" (segregated education) for Blacks and whites, although it tried to sweeten this racist position by advocating more funds for Black schools.

A few other vignettes will give some idea of what was going on in this crucial area:

ITEM: During 1950-51 seamen with progressive politics were being thrown off ships by the Coast Guard with the active collaboration of such reactionary labor leaders as Joseph Curran of the National Maritime Union, which had been organized by communists in the 1930's.

ITEM: The New York City Board of Education refused to bargain with the Teachers Union, alleging that it was "Communist-dominated." Meanwhile teachers were being fired from their jobs for alleged "Communist sympathies."

ITEM: Even labor leaders with "progressive" reputations were caught up by the anti-Communist hysteria. For example, Walter Reuther was busy during 1950-51 trying to complete his purge of the U.A.W.

Meanwhile, the living standards of U.S. workers were being eroded by war-generated inflation. From June 1950 to April 1951, manufacturing wages rose 9%, but prices rose 18% to 20%. In addition, taxes were increased to pay for the war. According to the *National Guardian* (6/27/51), "A single worker earning $3,000 a year paid $409 taxes before Korea, $488 after Korea, and will pay $549 beginning in September (1951)." The full force of the state was used to depress wages and silence workers' demands. President Truman even called out the U.S. Army when 135,000 railroad workers took "sick leave" in February 1951 to back up wage demands. Conversely, business profits the first quarter of 1951 were increasing at an annual rate of 38%. But the number of jobs increased by 1,500,000 between May 1950 and May 1951, and official

unemployment went down from an annual average of 5.3% in 1950 to 3.3% in 1951. It has been shown over and over again that under capitalism workers fear joblessness more than wages' failure to keep up with the cost of living. Reactionary labor leaders and capitalists have always found it expedient to manipulate this fear.

In spite of all this, there were progressive unions and union locals in the U.S. labor movement in 1950-1951: United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (UE); International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU); Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, Fur and Leather Workers (led by Ben Gold); National Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards; District 65 of the Distributive Workers; United Packinghouse Workers; Ford UAW Local 600 (representing workers at the Ford River Rouge plant—the largest union local in the U.S. at this time); Dodge UAW Local 3; Furniture Workers; various locals of the Farmers' Union (representing small farmers) including locals in North Dakota and Iowa. All of these unions and locals came out one way or another for an end to the Korean War.

The pressure some of these unions and union locals faced in 1950-51 was great. The UE had undergone systematic and government-abetted raiding by right-led unions, principally James Carey's IUE, due to its progressive politics. Harry Bridges, head of the ILWU and a naturalized U.S. citizen from Australia, had his citizenship taken away in June 1950 and was jailed in August 1950 because of alleged Communist Party membership and/or sympathies. The membership of the ILWU rallied around him, however, and the government's attempt to remove him from union leadership failed. He later won a court case to have his citizenship reinstated. Five leaders of Ford Local 600 were brought up on charges by Walter Reuther for being "Communist sympathizers," but again the membership backed its progressive leadership, and the local continued to actively support the peace movement. Although the head of the Farmer's Union, James G. Patton, supported Truman's war policy, he was unable to remove the leadership of locals in Iowa and North Dakota which came out for peace.

There were also many individual workers in non-progressive unions who exposed themselves to serve reprisals by signing and circulating peace petitions and pledges. For example, 4,000 seamen, members of the NMU, headed by the crooked and reactionary Joe Curran, signed the World Peace Appeal (a peace petition circulated worldwide—more on this later). Curran threatened them with loss of their jobs, but 367 more signed the petition anyway.

The main impression one receives in analyzing the judicial situation is that repression ruled triumphant at this time. The U.S. Supreme Court was dominated by conservatives and undistinguished minds. Among the former were Justices Frankfurter and Jackson, and among the latter were Chief Justice Vinson and Justices Clark, Burton, Reed, and Minton. Only William O. Douglas and Hugo Black consistently upheld the Bill of Rights and resisted the pressures of reaction in most decisions. This was the court which by its action or inaction sent to their death, the Martinsville Seven, seven young Black men accused of rape by the State of Virginia under the most dubious circumstances.

This was the court that authorized the execution of Willie McGee on a trumped-up murder charge in Mississippi in May 1951, with only Douglas and Black dissenting. This was the court which upheld the constitutionality of the Smith Act in June 1951, sending eleven Communist Party leaders to prison for allegedly "advocating the overthrow of the U.S. Government by force." Many other Communists were to follow. The lower courts were no better, as witness Federal Court Judge Kaufman's conduct of the Rosenberg trial. When Kaufman sentenced the Rosenbergs he made a statement that clarified for all his political posture: "I believe your conduct . . . has already caused the Communist aggression in Korea with the resultant casualties exceeding 50,000 Americans."

One of the more appalling violations of the Bill of Rights and simple human decency during this period occurred when Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, one of the foremost historians and scholars the U.S. has produced, was arrested in February 1951 and dragged into court handcuffed (at age 83), for failing to register as

the agent of a foreign power because of his activities as head of the Peace Information Center.

A brief description of the voting on the McCarran Act, passed in its final form over Truman's veto on September 23, 1950, will give some idea of the grip of anti-communism on Congress and on the nation at this time.

The McCarran Act, named after its sponsor Pat McCarran, Democratic Senator from Nevada, had several major provisions: all Communists had to register with the U.S. Government as agents of a foreign power; a board called the Subversive Activities Control Board was established to study organizations and decide which ones were "Communist-controlled," and members of these groups, or "Communist fronts," were also to register with the Government; aliens, with or without permanent resident status, were liable to deportation if deemed by the Government to be involved in "subversive" organizations. The McCarran Act established the so-called "Attorney general's list" of subversive organizations, and applicants for Federal jobs, passports, or seamen's papers had to sign a statement declaring that they were not members and had never been members of these organizations. The whole thrust of the Act was that Communists and their supporters were disloyal and, in effect, agents for the "enemy." Few Communists or Communist supporters would voluntarily register under such an act as a matter of principle. And if they did, they would be liable to prosecution under the Smith Act for "advocating the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government."

Many individuals and groups, including President Truman, opposed the bill because they felt it was unenforceable. Others opposed it for what it was, a gross violation of the Bill of Rights. Among opponents of the bill, for whatever reason, were the CIO, the International Association of Machinists, the American Association of University Professors, the American Civil Liberties Union, Americans for Democratic Action, the New York *Times,* the Washington *Post,* the Baltimore *Sun,* and even AFL President William Green. In spite of this important opposition, the final voting on the McCarran Act was in the House 286 to override, 48 against; in the Senate 56 to override, 10 against.

Although Truman vetoed the bill, he supported the Lehman-Kilgore Bill which instead of registration prescribed detention of Communists and their supporters in case of national emergency. This concentration camp bill was rejected by the Senate as a substitute for the McCarran bill, but its provisions were added on to the McCarran bill and ultimately passed.

In response to the cold war policies of the late 1940's, the Progressive Party-American Labor Party movement grew up. The Progressive Party stood steadfastly for the continuation of the wartime friendship between the USSR and the U.S. in foreign policy and in domestic policy for reducing arms spending, increasing social welfare expenditures, and civil rights and economic opportunity for Black and other minorities. It came out squarely against the Korean War and also strongly supported the Chinese revolution.

The Progressive Party ran Henry Wallace, one-time Vice President and Secretary of Agriculture under Roosevelt, for President in 1948 and gathered 1.5 million votes. In 1950 its affiliate, the American Labor Party, ran W. E. B. Dubois for Senator, and J. T. McManus, business manager for the progressive *National Guardian,* for Governor, in New York State. Vito Marcantonio ran again on the ALP ticket for Congress from the 18th Congressional District in East Harlem in New York City. The California Independent Progressive Party, The Progressive Party affiliate in that state, also ran candidates for state and national office.

The result of this IPP electoral activity was that 750,000 votes were obtained nationwide for peace candidates. And in California the IPP won 15% of the statewide vote in races where it ran candidates, the highest third party vote since LaFollette. One IPP candidate, George Walsh, a San Francisco longshoreman, gathered 250,000 votes. However, these successes were balanced by the fact that Vito Marcantonio, practically the lone voice for peace and progress in the country, was defeated for re-election in spite of the fact that he received a greater percentage of the vote in his district (43%) than he had in 1948 (36.5%). The Democrats, Republicans and Liberals ganged up on him by throwing their united weight behind one candidate.

Another setback for the Progressive Party was the increasingly reactionary statements of its 1948 presidential candidate, Henry Wallace. In 1950 Wallace came out in support of both the Korean War and the McCarran Act. He had changed, as so many did at this time, from someone who worked with Communists and progressives to someone who would support practically any anti-communist measure.

It should never be forgotten that aside from Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and other minorities, the worst repression in 1950-51 was saved for members and sympathizers of the Communist Party U.S.A. Communists were thrown out of factory windows in this period for opposing the Korean War and for advocating peace. Robert Thompson, head of the N.Y. State CP, received constant threats on his life. I have already mentioned the many Communists sent to prison under the Smith Act and the Rosenbergs.

In July 1950, Birmingham, Alabama, became the first city in the U.S. to outlaw the Communist Party. Other localities also banned the CP, a clearly unconstitutional act, including Atlanta, Syracuse, and Los Angeles. In Maryland there was a bill to deprive members of the CP on the right to vote. Many of these measures were quickly struck down by the courts, but they had an effect on public opinion. In Detroit the *Daily Worker* and the *Worker,* organs of the CP, were banned from newsstands by the police. In New York City the same thing was attempted by the New York Newsdealers Association. People became afraid to receive the *Daily Worker* in the mail, and its circulation fell drastically. Rep. Gorski of the U.S. Congress introduced a bill barring reporters from the *Daily Worker,* and the New York *Compass* from the press galleries of the Congress. The John Reed Club, a CP campus group, and the Young Progressives, affiliated with the Progressive Party, were banned from the "liberal" Harvard University campus.

Communists and Communist supporters were arrested in large numbers for deportation under the McCarran Act. By March 1951, six months after the passage of the Act, 175 had been arrested, including leaders Claudia Jones, Alexander Bittelman and George Siskind. Many were held on Ellis Island in New York Harbor while awaiting deportation, and this island now symbolized repression, just as before it had symbolized hope for immigrants arriving in the U.S. Foreigners trying to enter the U.S. permanently or temporarily but who had "subversive" connections were also detained there.

Although the CP fought back in court, in the press, on the streets and at the ballot box, the repression took its toll.

What has been said above will explain why the antiwar movement during the Korean War could not have been a mass movement. The atmosphere of repression discouraged all but those with extremely strong convictions from speaking out for peace. But in spite of this, the peace movement was not a mass movement, it was an active movement and it had some notable successes. During 1950-51 the two major peace organizations, both based in New York, were the Peace Information Center and the American Peace Crusade. The Peace Information Center, headed by W. E. B. Dubois, was active from mid-1950, prior to the outbreak of the Korean War, until it was disbanded under government pressure at the end of that year. Its two demands were:

1) "We demand the unconditional prohibition of the atomic weapons as an instrument of aggression and mass extermination of people and the establishment of strict international control over the fulfillment of this decision."

2) "We will regard as a war criminal that government which first uses the atomic weapon against any country."

The goal of the Peace Information Center was to achieve mass circulation of the World Peace Appeal. The fact that three million signatures were collected by the end of 1950 attests to the success of this campaign.

The American Peace Crusade became the major peace organization after the dismantling of the Peace Information Center, and it engaged in lobbying; the circulation of peace ballots, the circulation of the Johnson Resolution, the sponsoring of peace conventions; the organization of peace demonstrations; and issuing a bulletin on peace, "The American Peace Crusader."

The most massive lobbying effort of the American Peace Crusade took place on March 15, 1951 when 2,600 delegates from peace organizations in 36 states converged on Washington with these demands: end the fighting in Korea and make peace with China; oppose German rearmament and demilitarize both Japan and Germany; reduce weapons spending and ban nuclear weapons; end discrimination against Blacks and other minorities; defend civil liberties and advocate the right and obligation to work for peace; oppose universal military training and the extension of the draft; safeguard and improve the standards of living of the U.S. people. Over 100 Congressmen were seen in this lobbying effort, which was led by Philip Morrison, Cornell atomic scientist; Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, former governor of the Virgin Island; Paul Robeson and others of similar stature.

Regarding the circulation of the Johnson Resolution, it is necessary to explain just what this resolution was. On May 17, 1951, U.S. Senator Edwin Johnson, a Colorado Democrat of basically isolationist views, submitted the following resolution to the Senate, despite its weaknesses and limitations:

WHEREAS to permit civilization to be destroyed by World War III is utter insanity and unworthy of the men of this century; and

WHEREAS, the Korean War has every appearance of being a hopeless conflict of attrition and indecisiveness and a breeder of bitter racial hatreds; and

WHEREAS, a limited war like a limited or smoldering fire, is gravely dangerous, for it may burst forth into a world-wide conflagration at any moment; and

WHEREAS the North and South Koreans, the Chinese and the United Nations have suffered more than 1,000,000 casualties, with the only tangible result so far the indescribable misery which has been heaped upon the Korean people; and

WHEREAS tremendous strides have been made in the development of hitherto unused lethal and destructive weapons of war with potentials of unbelievable fury and horror; and

WHEREAS by slaughtering additional millions of humans an uneasy peace might in time be forced upon the vanquished; and

WHEREAS the peoples of the United States traditionally have held the people of China in the highest esteem and affection and still do; and

WHEREAS the people of the United States have long recognized the wisdom of the principles of the Monroe Doctrine so eloquently portrayed by the slogan "Asia for Asiatics" if it were to be applied to Asia; and

WHEREAS it has long been the policy of the American people that no nation should seek to extend its form of government over any other nation or people, but that as an inherent right every people should be left free to determine its own form of government and its own way of life, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid—the little along with the great and the powerful; and

WHEREAS the traditional policy and desire of the people of the United States of America is now and has been a just and enduring peace; and

WHEREAS, it is never too early for God-fearing and peace-loving peoples to earnestly endeavor to stop needless human slaughter; NOW, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That is the sense of the Senate that the United Nations call upon all nations and all groups now engaged in the war in Korea to cease fire and declare an armistice effective at 4 a.m. (Korean time) June 25, 1951; and that prior thereto the United Nations forces retire to points south and the opposing forces retire to points north of the thirty-eighth parallel: and that before December 31, 1951, all prisoners of the Korean War shall be exchanged and all non-Korean persons, military and non-military (except the ordinary diplomatic representatives), shall depart from north and south Korea.

The Resolution was widely publicized on the left and gave the peace movement a needed boost. It eventually got support, or at least agreement to seriously discuss it, from several Senators.

Speaking before the New Mexico Veterans of Foreign Wars, Senator Dennis Chavez of New York stated:

> *"Our Korean adventure is not calculated to instill confidence in our Asiatic neighbors, neither as to our military prowess nor our lack of imperialist designs.*
>
> *"We need to think of our own War Be-*

tween the States and the assistance furnished by England and France to the Confederacy to appreciate the fact that only bitter hatreds and deep resentment can result from this unfortunate intervention on foreign soil so distant from our own."

The American Peace Crusade attempted to give the Johnson Resolution and statements such as Chavez's, the widest possible circulation.

The American Peace Crusade called a national convention in Chicago for June 29, 1951, one year after the start of the Korean War. It attracted over 5,000 delegates and featured two main panels—"Our Country's Foreign Policy" and "The Negro Citizen and Peace." 1,500 of the delegates to the congress were union members, some official representatives of their organizations.

Over 1,000 rallies, sponsored by the American Peace Crusade, were held in the first six months of 1951 nationwide. These included one at the United Nations in April which attracted 500 people, but most were small due to the climate of repression.

The Peace Information Center and the American Peace Crusade, although the most important, were not the only U.S. organizations active in the peace movement. There were many statewide organizations active in the Peace Movement, such as the Maryland Committee for Peace, which achieved 50,000 signatures on peace ballots advocating the outlawing of the A- and H-bombs and negotiations between the U.S. and the USSR toward ending the Korean War. Also active was an organization called American Women for Peace, which circulated a peace ballot calling for peaceful mediation of the Korean conflict through the UN and the banning of all atomic weapons. Nor can be forget the courageous 15,000 who demonstrated for peace in Union Square, New York City, on August 2, 1950 in spite of the refusal of a permit by Mayor William O'Dwyer. The police moved in on the demonstration in the most brutal manner and many were injured and arrested.

Paul Robeson at this time was the center of attraction both as a speaker and artist at scores of peace, civil rights, and anti-colonialism rallies. He gave so much of himself, in fact, that he seriously impaired his health. And meanwhile government harrassment and show business blacklisting were denying him concert engagements and acting roles, ruining his livelihood. Finally, the government took away his passport and this towering world figure became a prisoner in his own land. Robeson symbolizes the destruction visited on progressive movements at this time, but he also symbolizes the courage of those who refused to give in to reaction.

As unlikely as it may seem, there were even a few big capitalists who came out for peace. Notable here was the so-called "Dover Group," consisting of rich men such as T. D. Cabot, a director of United Fruit Co., many of whom lived in and around the plush Boston suburb of Dover. These men were financial leaders not directly involved in war production, and they were probably bothered more by the economic disruptions and inflation brought on by the war than by their consciences.

What kind of peoples were involved in the peace movement? What has been said so far gives some idea, but I think it is useful to attempt a brief categorization:

1) The Communist Party, the Progressive Party and their supporters,

2) Progressive labor unions, those that managed to hold out against the reactionary surge; such as UE, ILWU, MMSWU, and the others mentioned above; and also progressive workers in unions led by reactionaries;

3) Black organizations, newspapers, and individuals, who saw that the Korean War abroad went hand-in-hand with repression against them at home;

4) Churchmen;

5) University professors and intellectuals.

This listing applies only to involvement in the *organized* peace movement and is not necessarily in order of importance. It is interesting to note that students, a huge factor in the movement against the Vietnam War, are not on the list. (McCarthyism declared this generation of students "the silent generation.")

One year after the start of the Korean War, the latent anti-war feeling in the US was high, although relatively few were openly involved in the struggle for peace. The war was never popular, and as time went on the less popular it became. In March 1951 the citizens of Durant, Oklahoma rose up in mass protest when

the local National Guard unit was activated and shipped to Korea.

Secretary of Defense George Marshall testified before the House Armed Services Committee in the same month regarding the needs of the military and the feeling in the U.S. people on the war: "Today the atmosphere is different. Now the question is not how much more do we need but why do we have to have so much."

In April, Melvin Price, Democratic Congressman from Illinois, said he wanted the U.S. army to investigate the deluge of antiwar letters from U.S. soldiers to hometown newspapers and charged that these letters were inspired by the "Russians." Draft evasion was on the rise. As early as November 1950 the 101 draft boards in Chicago reported that 1,056 men had failed to respond to their nation's call. The estimated number of draft delinquents in the southern California area was 7500 by February 1951, and many fled to Mexico or made false declarations of homosexuality to avoid the draft.

In spite of the vicious anti-Soviet propaganda, a Gallop poll, in April 1951 revealed that 44% still thought agreement with the USSR on world issues were possible. And there is no question that Truman's dismissal of MacArthur in April 1951 had an important psychological effect on the U.S. people, leading many to abandon illusions of a holy war against communism. At the end of a year of war, more and more people were beginning to agree with Harry Bridges, who said at the ILWU convention in Honolulu in the spring of 1951:

"We must refuse to allow the Herbert Hoovers and Tafts to parade as the spokesmen for peace. And let us likewise refuse to allow the rank and file of labor and the American people to be misled by the politicians now in power who hypocritically claim to seek peace while they make war inevitable."

People were confused, but less and less were they willing to follow blindly anything the politicians told them.

Hawaii Committee for a Free South Korea

The Hawaii Committee for a Free South Korea is a group of concerned individuals who are outraged at the Hitler-like policies of (U.S. supported) Gen. Park Chung Hee.

We are students, teachers, ministers, community people, members of various faiths and political beliefs.

We are deeply concerned with the plight and treatment of the political prisoners of conscience of south Korea, and urge an immediate end to all economic and military aid to Gen. Park's military dictatorship.

Join our weekly vigil demonstration every Monday from 3:30-5 pm in front of the Korean Consulate at 2756 Pali Pwy.

Write, call or visit Hawaii's congressional delegation to express your concern and to demand an end to all economic and military aid to Gen. Park's regime.

Write to Rep. Donald Fraser (D-Minn.) and Rep. Robert Nix (D-Pa.) of the House Foreign Affairs Committee urging them to support an amendment before their respective subcommittees that would ban U.S. assistance to any nation holding political prisoners.

Write a letter of protest to Gen. Park Chung Hee, the Korean Ambassador in Washington and to Consul General Lee here in Honolulu.

Come to our weekly Wednesday meeting at 7:30 pm on the 2nd floor of the University YWCA at 1820 University Avenue.

For more information call Dana Park at 948-8178 or Virginia Heck at 988-6266 or Jim Albertini at 949-1210.

South Korea receives U.S. aid not only in the form of weapons but through the training of their military leaders, at the U.S. Army School of the Americas in Panama at the Inter-American Air Force Academy there and in the homelands of the "students." Courses stress such subjects as insurgency, counter-insurgency, intelligence operation, interrogation techniques and jungle warfare.

South Korea is slated to receive $416 million in economic aid for fiscal 1975. Militarily, a 30% requested increase would amount to over $220 million.

American economic aid to south Korea for last year 1973-97 amounted to $142.2 million, with $177 million in military assistance. For next year, the Administration has requested a 30% increase in military aid.

(Note: The following has been mailed to thousands of fellow Americans. We reprint this as a courtesy to our KOREA FOCUS readers.)

AMERICAN-KOREAN FRIENDSHIP AND INFORMATION CENTER (AKFIC)

160 Fifth Avenue, Room 809, New York, N.Y. 10010 • Telephone: 242-0240

Dear Friend:

Reprinted on the following two pages is a letter sent to all members of Congress.

As an American actively engaged in helping to preserve the peace of the world, by supporting and contributing your efforts towards detente and peaceful co-existence, we appeal to you to join with the signers of the "Letter to Congress" by personally sending a letter to your local representative, by soliciting from among your family, your neighbors, your shopmates, your friends in the community, to similarly send letters to their respective Congressmen and Senators.

In addition to mailing this letter to all members of Congress, we have also sent it to the heads and press attaches of the United Nations delegations, to the chief representatives of the media in our country—radio, TV, newspapers and magazines, to the entire university press, to the trade union and Black peoples press.

We suggest that you try to influence your local trade union, community organization, religious congregations and other peoples organizations, to express their sentiments and desire for peace by supporting the main theme of the "Letter to Congress."

Thank you for your kind attention and cooperation. We remain,

Sincerely yours,
Joseph Brandt
Executive Director, AKFIC
Editor, Korea Focus

George B. Murphy, Jr.
Fred J. Carrier
Co-Chairmen, AKFIC

P.S.: We take this opportunity to thank sincerely all the signers of the "Letter to Congress" for their cooperation.

A Letter

APPEAL OF CONSTITUENTS AND VOTERS TO OUR ELECTED

Dear Member of Congress:

On March 25, 1974, the Congress of the United States received an unprecedented communication from the Supreme People's Assembly of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea). The communication set forth restrained and reasonable proposals for a treaty of peace on the Korean peninsula. (*See Congressional Record, April 9, 1974, pp. 2245, and Korea Focus, Vol. II, No. 4, April-May 1974, pp. 1.*)

To date, the Korean Assembly has received not even an acknowledgement of this historic letter. We find this silence not only shockingly discourteous; it seems an incomprehensible refusal to explore a welcome opportunity to create a meaningful state of peace in a most critical area of Asia.

The letter from Pyongyang proposed the following:

1. A non-aggression agreement with a provision that there be no United States interference in the internal affairs of the Korean people.
2. A discontinuance of armament escalation and introduction of new weapons, combat equipment and war supplies in Korea on both sides.
3. Withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea at the earliest possible date. (There are no foreign troops in North Korea.)
4. A guarantee that Korea will not become a military or operational base for any country.

To our mind, those proposals form the basis for negotiations between the United States and the DPRK, which could lead to the end of a persistently dangerous situation on the Korean peninsula.

(Organizations, professions and functions listed for identification only)

REV. ALBERT ALLINGER	Clergyman
MARTHA ACEVEDA	Educator
JAMES K. ASH	Educator
PROF. DOUGLAS ALLEN	Educator
STEPHANIE ALLEN	Journalist; Newspaper Guild, AFL-CIO
BETTINA APTHEKER	Writer; peace activist
JAMES ARONSON	Author, editor, journalist
DR. HERBERT APTHEKER	Author-Historian, Director AIMS
DR. ROBERT ANTE	Educator
ROBERT L. ALLEN	Author; educator
JAMES S. ALLEN	Author
JOHN BAKER	Peace activist
REV. LeE H. BALL	Clergyman
HON. ELMER A. BENSON	Former Governor Minn.
JOSEPH BRANDT	Editor *Korea Focus;* VALB
DAVID B. BUEHRENS	Scholar, Linguistics & Literature
PHYLLIS BENNIS	Legal worker, NLG
FREDERIC R. BARNWELL	Student; U of C
EDWARD K. BARSKY, M.D.	Physician; VALB
SYLVIA BJORNSON	Exec. Sec'y, St. Peter's Church
THOMAS BRANDON	Lecturer
DELLA F. BROWN	Peace activist
CHARLES W. CHUNG	Doctoral student, Harvard U.
ROBERT CAMBRIA	Peace activist
MANUEL J. V. CLEMENTE	Student
MARION T. CALLIGARIS	Chairman, Local 547, BRAC, AFL-CIO
DAVID B. CANTRELL	Memb. Grievance Comm., Local 937 USA, AFL-CIO
DOROTHY C. CARY	Peace activist
WILLIAM H. CARY, JR.	Peace activist
PROF. NOAM CHOMSKY	Educator, MIT
IRVING J. CRAIN, M.D.	Physician
BRIAN D.P. CRAWFORD	Businessman
PROF. EPHRAIM CROSS	Educator
ISABEL M. CERNEY	Peace activist
REV. MARK A. CHAMBERLIN	Clergyman
PROF. FRED J. CARRIER	Educator
RUTH GAGE-COLBY	UN Rep. WILPF
REV. J. RAYMOND COPE	Clergyman
GERALD COOK	Journalist; VALB
OSSIE DAVIS	Actor-Director, Screen, TV, Theatre
ANGELO D'ANGELO	Educator, Local 2 AFT, AFL-CIO
ERNEST DeMAIO	Pres. District 11, UERMWU
PROF. STANTON LING DAVIS	Educator
PEGGY DENNIS	Journalist
EMILY DeFALLA	Legal worker NLG
HORACE B. DAVIS	Educator; writer
HUGH DeLACY	Former Congressman
BENJAMIN DeLEON	Educator
PAUL G. DENIT	Peace activist
ALICE DENZIN	Educator
SELMA DUBRIN	Peace activist
PROF. CLIFFORD DuRAND	Educator
MICHAEL EISENSHER	Trade Union organizer
DAVID ECKLEIN	Computer Consultant
STANLEY FAULKNER, ESQ.	NLG
MOE FISHMAN	N.Y. Typo. U. Local 6, AFL-CIO; VALB
MARY D. FARLOW	Realtor, United World Federalist
PROF. PHILIP S. FONER	Educator
SIDNEY J. GLUCK	Business Consultant
PAUL GULIELMETTI, ESQ.	NLG
E. H. GIPSON	Electrical worker, BEWU, AFL-CIO
ERNEST GOODMAN, ESQ.	NLG
ROGER GELLER, ESQ.	NLG
JEFFREY A. GOLDSTEIN, ESQ.	NLG
DR. RALPH H. GUNDLACH	Psychologist
CATHERINE GYARMATY	Editor
LUCY HAESSLER	Office worker; WILPF
MARTIN HALL	Writer; peace activist
HOLLIS RUTH HILL, ESQ.	NLG
MARII HASEGAWA	Nat'l Pres., WILPF
JOHN HITZ	Educator
PROF. DONALD C. HODGES	Educator
HANK IRVIN	Educator
ABRAHAM J. ISSERMAN, ESQ.	NLG
DR. OAKLEY C. JOHNSON	Author-Historian
JOHN JUNKEMAN	Educator
MARY LEA JOHNSON	Vet. WW I, US Vets. Admin. Councilor
RUSSELL JOHNSON	AFSC Program Consultant
IDA KAHN	Social service worker

to Congress

EPRESENTATIVES IN THE CONGRESS OF THE U.S.A.

The only answer to date to these proposals is the sinister response, however indirect, by Secretary of the Air Force, John McLucas. He indicated that the United States would shift a squadron of F-4 Phantom jet fighters from Thailand to South Korea to replace less effective models. This, of course, is directly contrary to one of the North Korean proposals.

Many of us have followed United States-Korean relations with care and concern for many years. We have noted the reluctance of the government at Seoul to negotiate with the North on Pyongyang's proposals—now two years old—for the peaceful reunification of both Koreas.

We ask you to investigate the strange silence concerning the letter from the Supreme People's Assembly, and, further, to address yourself generally to the pressing but neglected question of a permanent peace on the Korean peninsula.

At a time when the foreign policy of the U.S. seems to be turning more and more to detente with the Soviet Union, China, the Middle East, and even Cuba, our government's policy is particularly distressing in light of the reports of objective journalistic observers and scholars of the increasingly repressive measures being taken against any opposition to the government in South Korea.

Believing that all the people of Korea should be given a respectful hearing as a basis for understanding and friendship between our peoples, and that we can respond in a very significant way through our elected representatives in the House and Senate, we remain,

Most sincerely yours,

(The total number of signers, including those that arrived too late to be included in the original letter, represent forty six states, and Americans resident in six foreign countries—Japan, England, France, Czechoslovakia and Italy.)

THOMAS KARLSON	Educator; Local 147 UFT, AFL-CIO
IRVING KOHN	N.Y. Typo U. Loc, 6; Graphic Arts for Peace Comm.
REV. J.S. KENNARD, JR.	Clergyman; author
MARVIN LONGTON	Librarian
HOWARD D' LANGFORD	Educator
ROBERT LYMAN, ESQ.	NLG
JERRY S. LEGG	Machinist, USA Local 1033, AFL-CIO
SOL LONDE, M.D.	Physician
SOPHIA LEVINSON	Peace activist
HENRY McKNIGHT, JR.	Legis. Rep., No. Cal. Destrict Council ILWU
BILL MONTROSS	Legal Worker, NLG
NORMAN MASUDA	Educator
JACK MALINOWSKI	EPF, Program Coordinator
PROF J. M. MARSALKA	Educator
DANIEL I. MEYERS, ESQ.	NLG
VICTORIA MISSICK	Nat. Student Sec'y YWLL
PROF. D.Y. MIYAUCHI	Educator
RICHARD MORFORD	Exec. Dir. NCASF
WILLIAM M. MANDEL	Author
GRAMBS MILLER	Artist
PROF. MICHAEL MUNK	Educator
GEORGE B. MURPHY, JR.	Author, Journalist, Afro-American press
MICHAEL MYERSON	Author, Journalist
THOMAS J. MORGAN	Railroad Engineer
LOUIS M. MOROZE	Editorial Assoc., NWR
SCOTT NEARING	Author
KENNETH NEWCOMB	Orgainzer, CP, NY State
RUTH C. NORRICK	Journalist
PROF. KARL H. NIEBYL	Educator
P. W. OYLER	Civil Service employee
DR. PHILIP OKE	Educator
JOHN D. OLSEN	Land title researcher
JOHN PAPPADEMOS	Educator; VP, AFL Local 1627, AFL-CIO
PROF. HOWARD L. PARSONS	Educator
WILLIAM L. PATTERSON	Chair., Black Liberation Comm. CPUSA
VICTOR PERLO	Author; economist
LORETTA PAUKER	Concert artist
BENJ. B. PAGE	Educator
DR. IRVING J. PANKEN	Dentist
JOHN RANDOLPH	Screen, TV, Radio & Theatre personality
HOLLAND ROBERTS	Chairman, American-Russian Institute
OLIVER A. ROSENGART, ESQ.	NLG
THOMAS E. RAY	Investor
PROF. RAYMOND H. RECTOR	Educator
NORMA ROGERS	Projects director, *Freedomways*
DENNIS ROCH	Hospital worker
MAX ROFFMAN	Educat. Dir. Local 646 AFSCME AFL-CIO
JAY SCHAFFNER	Illinois chairman YWLL
E. MARTIN SCHOTZ, M.D.	Psychiatrist
MARA SIEGEL	Law student, NLG
DR. H. C. STEINMETZ	Educator
PROF. DIRK J. STRUIK	Educator
DOROTHY R. STEFFENS	Exec. Dir. WILPF
KATHERINE SENICK	Practical nurse
JEFFREY SEGAL	Legal worker, CFCR
HAROLD L. SHAPIRO	Int'l Rep., AMCU, AFL-CIO
ANDREW SIEGAL	Clerk; peace activist
JESSICA SMITH	Editor; author
PROF. JOHN SOMERVILLE	Educator
JACK D. SPIEGEL	USW, AFL-CIO
WILLIAM J. SPURLIN	Engineer
LISA STRATTON	Graduate student
WILLIAM STRATTON	Graduate student
MARY ALICE THEILER, ESQ.	NLG
EDITH TIGER	Dir., NECLC
EDNA TONEY	Actress; writer
ANTHONY TONEY	Artist; VALB
JARVIS TYNER	Nat. Chairman YWLL
DANIEL J. ULZAK	Peace activist
SIMON VIRON	Riding apparel worker
JOE WALKER	NY Edit. *Muhammad Speaks*
BEN WEINSTEIN	Peace activist
KARL G. YONEDA	Co-Chairman, BAC Chap., Japanese-Amer. Citizens League; ILWU

By ANGELO D'ANGELO

"THE BLOOD FLOWS IN SOUTH KOREA, BUT THE HAND THAT HOLDS THE KNIFE IS IN WASHINGTON"

Note: Following the usurpation of power by the Park Chung Hee clique, during the reactionary military coup of May 1961, over 4,000 laws, edicts, emergency decrees, martial laws have been passed and put into operation by that regime. Among them is included the currently "revitalized constitution," which is really abolition of the constitution, the "national security" laws, "anti-communist" laws, all of them engineered in an attempt to cover with a so-called "constitutional" facade the police measures of the Park clique, its police, the CIA and the armed forces, directed against the people of south Korea.

Because of the world wide outpouring of revulsion against the continued repression of the south Korean people by the Park regime, Koreascope column is devoted entirely in this issue to limited expressions of protest and opposition. *Editor's note.*

Congressional Comments

At an open joint hearing of the House Affairs Sub-Committee (July-Aug. 1974) on International Organizations and Movements and on Asian and Pacific Affairs, attended by a number of Korean residents in Washington (some of whom staged a rally for restoration of democracy in Korea at the capital steps before the hearing started), issued an appeal which stated:

"The tragic disregard for human rights and principles of democracy . . . clearly disqualifies the present government of south Korea as a lawful recipient of foreign aid from the United States."

* * *

Before the same hearing, Rep. Donald M. Fraser, in his opening statement entitled "Human Rights in Korea" stated:

"I profoundly regret the necessity of this hearing.

"However, the increasingly oppressive nature of the south Korean government demands a thorough re-evaluation of U.S. policy towards that government.

"The question which warrants an answer from the witnesses today is what should be the response of the U.S. government to the actions of the south Korean government?

"Because the south Korean government is increasingly oppressive and pays little heed to internationally recognized human rights for the south Korean people, military assistance to south Korea should be

Testifying before the same Joint Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, which divided its inquiries regarding human rights situation in south Korea and its implications for U.S. foreign policy, Prof. Gregory Henderson of Tufts University declared that U.S. arms are currently used in south Korea.

. . . "to provoke tensions and incidents with the north" and "to repress the people of south Korea or stand between them and their rights."

"Is it the intention of Congress or the will of the American people to use American arms against unarmed civilians seeking their democratic rights? . . .

"The U.S. will reap from this policy the lasting hatred of the Korean people at a repression they inevitably must associate partly with us and our verbal silence condones."

"Already Korea is last year's greatest foreign policy failure for the U.S."

* * *

Among the witnesses before this Committee was William J. Butler, representing Amnesty International (whose article is in this issue). He stated:

"Internal and external threats to the security of (south Korea) are not sufficient to justify the total suppression of human freedoms undertaken by the Park regime."

* * *

Another witness before the same Committee was Dr. Edwin Reischauer of Harvard, a former U.S. envoy to Japan. He stated:

". . . repression of dissidents in south Korea prepares the way for a "quagmire" in which subversion (needless to say the envoy's use of the word 'subversion' is the typical diplomatic language to describe people's opposition to oppression. Editor) of the existing administration becomes possible as the government loses internal support."

The envoy posed the question whether the U.S. government would want to give military support to a south Korean leader who is so repugnant to the American people's values of democratic rights. He further urged that to avoid a Vietnam-type "quag-

mire" in Korea, the U.S. must seriously consider the withdrawal of troops now and cutting military aid in answer to the repressive measures of the Park Chung Hee regime.

Rep. Lloyd Meeds (D.-Wash.) and Rep. Morris Udall (D.-Ariz.) in a joint statement before the Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, stated:

"Either by design or inadvertence our support of that (Park) regime is impelling us nearer the time when we must lose the best reservoir of good will of the south Korean people we have had in the past . . .

"The ultimate result of continued repression is internal strife and revolution. . . .

"If we make amply clear that our help is to be used for the people of south Korea rather than against them; and if we are successful in illustrating the danger in the present course, perhaps there is still time to reverse the almost inevitabe consequent events.

"If not, we must totally disassociate ourselves from its blindly disastrous consequences."

* * *

Testifying at the same Joint Subcommittee, W. Sterling Cary, President of the National Council of Churches of Christ, joined by Ms Peggy Billings, Assistant General Secretary of the Women's Division and former missionary for ten years in Korea, stated:

"Testifying before you at the present time offers us an opportunity to act in concert with Korean Christians who are also testifying concurrently in courts of their country.

"It should be noted that the continuing injection of massive military assistance has increased the military sector in Korea out of all proportions to other elements of society, and this has had a very deleterious effect on existing democratic institutions."

* * *

A 600-word report "Political Imprisonment in Korea" of the Congressional Research Service, introduced into the Congressional Record, H7777, on August 7th, states:

"Political and civil liberties have been greatly restricted in the Republic of Korea since late in 1971.

"Reports from south Korea indicate that the repression of political opponents of the Park regime is becoming worse.

"According to U.S. Embassy sources quoted in the Washington Post in May 1974, the total of political arrests in south Korea this year is believed to go well into the thousands."

* * *

According to Rep. Robert L. Sikes of Florida, who provided figures, the cost of maintaining troops in Korea is approximately $700 million a year.

* * *

Rep. Gilbert Gude (R-Md) in a statement published in the Congressional Record of August 6th said:

"As time for House consideration of the Foreign Aid bill draws close . . . I do believe that there are certain fundamental human rights common to all peoples and that we have an obligation to be sensitive to the denial of those rights (in south Korea) and reflect our concern in our aid policies."

* * *

While not referring directly to the situation in south Korea, Rep. Michael Harrington (D-Mass.) on July 31st declared:

"I am offering amendments to the Foreign Assistance Act limiting CIA convert operations which manipulate and intervene in the internal affairs of foreign countries.

"I consider the Foreign Assistance Act the natural piece of legislation for attaching these amendments." (While the Congressman did not make direct reference to Korea, there should be no doubt in any one's mind that such an amendment is related to south Korea because the U.S. CIA is always "Johnny on the spot" to give aid and support through subversion, and assistance to reactionary regimes fighting to remain in power in the face of growing opposition from the people. Editor)

* * *

In a speech on July 29th in the House of Representatives, Rep. Donald M. Fraser stated:

"A growing number of our colleagues are finding it difficult to justify propping up the oppressive regime of south Korea's Park Chung Hee with U.S. military assistance to south Korea while Park rules with the iron hand of martial law, arbitrarily arresting, detaining and sentencing to death all manner of political opponents. . . .

"I cannot believe that the national interest of the U.S. is tied to Park's blatant disregard to internationally recognized standards of decency towards its own people."

* * *

On August 1st, Rep. Edward I. Koch (D-NY) stated in the House of Representatives:

"Many of our colleagues are shocked at the deplorable situation now existing in the Republic of Korea.

"This is a situation that is steadily worsening every day and one which we are supporting with our funding of that government. I do not believe that the U.S. is, as Walter Lippman once said, to be the 'policeman of mankind.'

"But we must not assist a government in the suppression of its people."

Sen. Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio) stated in the Senate on July 23rd:

"I wish today to call to the attention of this body the outrageous situation in South Korea, a nation which has received over 12 billion in American economic and military aid since World War II, and where 54,246 of our men died and 103,284 were wounded in the Korean War. . . .

"In fact, so Korea has become an efficient police state, complete with a domestic and international surveillance apparatus, the Korean Central Intelligence Agency . . . (A creature of U.S. CIA. Editor)

"I submit that it is our right and our duty as a

free nation to condemn the sweeping violations of democratic liberties and human rights . . .

"In pursuit of these objectives I call upon the Secretary of State to communicate our extreme displeasure at the scandalous events to the south Korean authorities in the strongest terms. . . .

"I have the greatest respect and admiration for those Koreans who have so bravely born witness to the ideals of democracy in the face of brutal repression.

"Their fight is our fight and if we do not support them, we shall ultimately place our own freedom in jeopardy."

* * *

Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass) on July 24th, in a Senate floor speech declared:

"For some time overseas observers of south Korea have become increasingly concerned by events taking place there.

"The record is one which raises serious questions.

"It is this progressive denial of civil liberties that is a matter of deep concern in terms of both basic human rights, and the political stability on the Korean peninsula, twenty years after the end of the Korean war."

* * *

On July 29, Senator Frank Church of Idaho spoke on the floor of the Senate as follows:

"More than two decades ago, the United States went to war on the Korean peninsula. Historians may debate the wisdom of that decision, but one thing is clear: the sacrifice was immense . . . In the war's aftermath, American assistance continued, and for 20 years the United States has contributed immeasurably to South Korea. Yet today that sacrifice of American lives and resources is mocked—not only by the mounting tyranny of the dictatorial government of Park Chung Hee, but even more by our own government's willingness to buttress such a regime by blindly perpetuating a massive program of military and economic assistance . . .

"For the past 2½ years, under the pretense of protecting his people from external aggression, President Park has systematically denuded the constitutional structure of South Korea. Through a series of "emergency measures," martial law has been instituted, the National Assembly dissolved, dissent stifled, and prominent Korean citizens jailed for patently specious reasons . . .

"Meanwhile, with little but the faintest glimmer of protest, the government of the United States has continued to dispense aid to the Park regime. Indeed, presently before Congress is a fiscal year 1975 program of Korean assistance, proposed by this administration in the total of nearly one-half billion dollars . . .

"What possible justification can there be for such come to embrace . . . totalitarianism . . . I am therefore introducing legislation in the form of an amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1974, requiring the cessation of military aid to South Korea. In so doing, I would remind my colleagues of a provision of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973, which declares it to be the sense of Congress 'that the President should deny any economic or military assistance to the government of any foreign country which practices the internment or imprisonment of that country's citizens for political purposes.'"

* * *

On July 22, 1974, Rep. Bella S. Abzug (D-NY) in the Extension of Remarks in the Congressional Record stated:

"Last Wednesday I circulated a "Dear Colleagues" letter concerning violations of human rights in Korea.

"I have sent to the President of the Republic of Korea, a cable signed by myself and other representatives requesting the release of political prisoners.

"The cable dated July 15, 1974 stated: 'The undersigned members of the U.S. Congress respectfully request the release of persons detained for political offenses, and the commutation of sentences of those condemned to death.'

"Such suppression of political activity by any regime cannot be condoned."

Bella A. Abzug (D-NY), George Brown (D-Cal), Michael Harrington (D-Mass.), Jonathan Bingham (D-NY), Benjamin Rosenthal (D-NY), Donald M. Fraser (D-Minn), Edward Roybal (D-Cal.), Parren Mitchell (D-Maryland), Robert Nix (D-Pa.), Fortney Stark (D-Cal), Thomas Ress (D-Cal.).

* * *

Rep. Bella S. Abzug (D-NY), during a three-hour House debate on the Department of Defense appropriation bill, declared:

"We have been receiving almost daily reports indicating a serious stepping up of repression by the Park regime in south Korea.

"We should not associate ourselves with repression of human and civil rights in south Korea. I think the Korean people must regard our continued military presence there as support for that corrupt regime."

* * *

Press Comment

In the New York Times of October 7th, 1974 Richard Halloran, writing from Seoul, reports regarding the increased opposition activities to Park Chung Hee's repression from south Korea's major opposition party, the New Democratic Party, which in the past has suffered severe setbacks because of Park Chung Hee's suppression of the new party's leadership, especially the kidnapping of its former spokesman Kim Dae Jung from Tokyo in 1973.

Mr. Halloran quotes the new leader of the opposition party, Kim Young Sam, who has been in and out of jail recently, is "threatening today to lead his party into struggle on the streets unless President Park Chung Hee revises the nation's constitution.

" 'If the government continues to suppress the problems of constitutional revision with highhanded means there will be demands for democracy outside the normal political arena. In that event, I sternly proclaim here that I, and my New Democratic Party,

would have no recourse but to stand in the forefront of the national ranks and struggle.'"

The head of the opposition party indirectly called for the resignation of Park Chung Hee. (It should be noted that this opposition party is also anti-communist. (Editor)

* * *

New York Times, August 4, 1974: "United States officials, up to and including Secretary of State Kissinger—make no attempt to justify the current crackdown on internal dissent on which President Park is embarked without apparent regard for the domestic or international consequences. But, these officials complain, the south Korean regime is consistently turning deaf ears to all outside advice and warnings. . . . if President Park is unwilling to listen to any other language, perhaps he would be impressed if Congress moved to cut back the Administration's requested $241.5 million security assistance program."

In its editorial of August 6, the *San Francisco Chronicle* criticized the repressive regime in Seoul and Washington's partnership with it.

"Some 1100 South Koreans—chiefly students, clergymen and professors—have been arrested for 'political crimes' . . . held incommunicado for long periods, tried before military courts, denied witnesses in their behalf, and subjected to torture."

"In its obsession with East Asian politics, the Administration is again bowing to the dictates of expediency and again in the partnership with dictatorship. The rule of Park Chung Hee has become an outrageously tyrannical and autocratic rule, hardly worthy of support from this or any other democratic nation."

* * *

On page 2 of the New York Times of August 17th, in a story from Seoul headlined "Seoul keeps the Cost of Industry Down Through Repressions of its Working Force," we read:

"It is over 100 degrees in Shop 349 these summer days, and the twenty teen-age girls who work in the crowded, airless loft in the Seoul market and garment district get little relief from the one tiny fan.

"The girls sew dresses for export to the U.S.; and they work 11 hours a day, 7 days a week for $23 a month."

According to calculations this means the girls work 330 hours in a 30-day month at exactly 7¢ an hour, while the members of Park Chung Hee's cabinit, the heads of the Korean CIA, the mercenary general of the army and a good handful of businessmen drive Mercedes Benz cars, which sell for over $36,000 a piece, paying $1.99 for a gallon of premium gas and $1.88 for a gallon of regular gas. (Editor.)

* * *

The Wall Street Journal, which usually does not comment editorially on south Korea, stated on August 14th:

"(President) Park's policies are threatening to disturb south Korea's economy by scaring off foreign aid and investments."

And then proceeds to let the cat out of the bag as to the real reason for investments abroad when it says:

"It would be foolish to expect a model democracy in return for our investments . . ."

The day before, August 13th, the same Wall Street Journal declared:

"South Korea is finding it increasingly difficult to borrow from major foreign banks.

"President Park's desire for complete control is definitely effecting the policies of foreign businessmen in south Korea.

"Private correspondence from abroad is routinely opened and read by government agents. (the KCIA. Editor)

"American companies have instructed employees in Seoul to fly to Japan to make sensitive phone calls to their US home office."

* * *

The Washington Star, on August 6th, in its editorial "Korean Insanity" says:

"Nothing is more illustrative of Seoul's lack of insight than the laughable defense voiced by Kim Jong Pil.

"Applying a sort of reverse means test he said Koreans are too poor to be allowed more democracy.

"The (US) administration wants to stand pat despite the beating democracy is taking from our ally, but Park seems bent on eroding even that amoral position."

* * *

Columnist Milton Viorst, a Korean War veteran, in his column of August 8th stated:

"(President) Park seems to have gone mad.

"So I think the time has come for the US to begin withdrawing from south Korea . . . not in abdication of our committment to the people of that country, but in reaffirmation of it.

"I am not defending the principle of meddling in any country's internal affairs.

"But a point exists beyond which we cannot go in backing any government.

"Park pushed us past that point a while ago. Now it is time for us to leave."

(If Mr. Viorst really means that he is against meddling in any country's internal affairs, is it therefore just that we have no business in south Korea at all—yesterday, today or tomorrow, regardless of the repression of the Park Chung Hee regime? On the contrary, the Park Chung Hee regime's oppression is due to our past and present retaining of armed American forces, military supplies and tactical atomic weapons there. Editor)

* * *

On August 5th, the Washington Post reported from Seoul:

"Pressures are mounting for President Park to roll back the wave of internal repressions before irreparable damage is done to his leadership at home and his country's standing abroad."

The Post then continues to give examples and points to actions of the Congressional Foreign Affairs Committee which denied funds to the USIA for relocating powerful Voice of America transmitters to Korea from Okinawa.

* * *

The New York Times on August 4th, in an editorial

on "Korean Security" stated:

"US officials . . . complain the south Korean regime has consistently turned a deaf ear to all outside advice and warnings. . . .

"The US should not be in the business of molding other societies to suit its own convenience.

"But neither should it continue the flow of military support of regimes which are, by their own ill-considered actions, undermining . . . security . . ."

* * *

The *Daily World* headlined its August 21 editorial "Dictator Park's Sweatshop."

The editorial based its content partially on a recent dispatch to the New York Times from its Seoul correspondent, Fox Butterfield, which dealt with the sweatshop conditions of the South Korean working class.

The Daily World said "Is this what 55,000 U.S. boys died for in Korea in the 1950's—to maintain a giant sweat-shop?

"Is this why U.S. military forces helped to slaughter hundreds of thousands of Koreans?

"Is this why U.S. taxpayers have poured billions to support the dictatorship of President Park Chung Hee so that, in Butterfield's words, he can 'keep wages low and control the labor movement' "?

* * *

Some months ago Asahi Shimbun in a report from New York stated:

"Criticism of the Park government in south Korea have increased in severity in the US, particularly among the intellectuals.

"More than 90% of the reports and reviews on south Korea are criticisms of the dictatorial system in south Korea."

* * *

The Baltimore Sun, in an editorial "Aid to Korean Tyranny" declared:

"Since he utilized martial law two years ago to impose a new constitution, effectively making him lifetime dictator, President Park's authoritarianism has reached into every peasant village and, in a decree last April, declared death for those who disagree."

* * *

The New York Times, in an editorial on August 16th, "Korean Tragedy" declared:

"Yesterday's assassination attempt against President Park and the subsequent death of his wife are tragedies which only underline the plight of the Korean dictator.

"Just as the US cannot dictate the internal policies of another country, so President Park must realize that the US is entitled to determine for itself whether it is worth continuing military aid that no longer serves its intended purpose."

* * *

On August 8th, the New York Times reports from Seoul: "some diplomats here, sighting the government's sensitivity to trials and their implications, believe that the policy related to the crackdown is made by a tiny group in the national leadership and is not too well coordinated."

* * *

The Christian Science Monitor, in its editorial of August 16th, "US Dilemma in Korea," says:

"(The attempted assassination of President Park) and the tragic loss of his wife would seem to reflect . . . hate and bitterness which is building up in south Korea."

" . . . the stark fact is that Park no longer seems to care about world opinion."

In the same paper (Christian Science Monitor) in an editorial column "The Tragedy of Korea." Elizabeth Pond, the paper's Tokyo's correspondent who was expelled and is barred from Seoul, wrote:

". . . some of the best of the Koreans are now in jail."

". . . Indeed, Pres. Park's dictatorship is looked on as archaic, unintelligible . . ."

* * *

The London Times of August 12th headlined this story "South Korea: No Sign of Democracy, Unjustified Repression."

The editorial said:

"During the past six months President Park, who apparently fears that his government will be overthrown by a popular uprising, has systematically erased the last vestiges of democracy in Korea to repress any form of criticism.

"Using the bogey of north Korea as a pretext to suppress demands for restoration of democratic rights, the regime has issued emergency decrees threatening opponents of the President on his self-imposed constitution with death or imprisonment. Thousands of dissident students, intellectuals and Christian leaders have been arrested and President Park's political opponents have been brought before secret military tribunals on what appear to be questionable charges that they attempted to assist a communist-inspired uprising this year. . . .

"*The Government attempts to justify its actions.* . . . Mr. Bang Hyun Lim, special adviser to President Park, claims that it is unfair to measure Korea against Western democratic institutions, *reiterating the Government's shrill warning against the danger of a communist attack.* (Our emphasis. Editor, Koreascope)

"However, senior officers who command the 38,000 American troops stationed in Korea, say that military activity in north Korea does not justify President Park's claim. . . .

"The plea constantly offered by the Seoul government that it is under threat from the communist regime in the north . . . can be dismissed, first, because it has been so readily offered before and been found to be false: there is no more evidence now of an imminent attack from th north than there has been on the other recent occasions when it has been advanced by President Park." . . .

* * *

According to "Mainichi Daily News," Tokyo daily newspaper, Oct. 31, Japanese Foreign Minister Toshio Kimura told the latest Diet session that "there exists no military threat to south Korea from the north."

"Anxiety has been growing in the United States at what has been happening. The American troops still maintained in Korea are psychologically the most important part of the support President Park's Government still enjoys from Washington. In Japan protest has grown ever since the abduction in Tokyo a year ago of Mr. Kim Dae Jung, the south Korean Opposition leader, who has still not been allowed to leave Korea.

The forthcoming United Nations General Assembly, when the question of north and south Korea will come up again, may lie behind the south Korean Government's anxieties. They are certainly not likely to win support by their present methods."

* * *

On July 24th, the Christian Science Monitor, in an editorial "Korea and US Police," declared:

"It is time for the American government to declare publicly and forcefully its concern about the wave of political arrests and trials which is sweeping throughout south Korea. . . .

"If (President Park) doesn't reverse his course, Washington may be forced to reasses its policy of military and economic support."

* * *

Los Angeles Times, July 18, 1974:

". . . For Park to try to link all his political foes to communism is an absurd claim, insulting in its disingenuousness. There are too many Christian laymen and ministers among Park's opponents, too many known anti-Communists, for that charge to stick.

"There is no valid justification, no overriding national necessity for the extraordinary powers that Park has assumed. . . . The world has seen this before, too many times in too many countries, but the familiarity of it should not reduce concern and protest over what is happening."

* * *

In a letter to the Washington Post, on July 26, 1974, Prof. James B. Palais, Korean History Dept., University of Washington urged:

"Either the State Department or the Congress should immediately withhold aid to south Korea until the release of (political prisoners) have been obtained.

"And whatever other pressures our government can put on the Park regime to back off from its paranoiac policies of repression should be open and forceful."

Fox Butterfield, reporting in the New York Times from Seoul some time ago about a meeting of 2,000 Catholics gathered to protest the jailing of a prominent bishop, stated that among those attending the mass protest were the French and Belgian ambassadors to Seoul "arriving in their official cars with flags flying and conspicuously walked out with the Korean Primate, Stephen Cardinal Kim.

"*However, the US Ambassador Philip C. Habib, who professes to be a Catholic, did not attend.* (Emphasis ours. Editor, Koreascope)

"Agents of the Korean CIA moved among the worshippers, taking pictures."

* * *

The Washington Post of Sunday, July 28th devoted an entire page to an article on south Korea by Don Oberdorfer, its North Asian correspondent based in Tokyo. The article, datelined Seoul, stated:

"With the death sentence for a poet, the trial of an ex-president, the arrest of a bishop, the world has awakened with something of a start to the political condition in south Korea.

"The deep feelings of frustration of (Park's) opponents at home appears stronger than ever."

* * *

The Baltimore Sun's correspondent Dean Mills reports from Washington:

"In south Korea . . . dozens of students and prominent former politicians continue to get death sentences for the mildest of protests against the dictatorship of Park Chung Hee. . . .

"South Koreans beg western friends, particularly American friends, for support in their fight against the Park regime.

"It is the best weapon they have, and it can only come, they now feel, from American public opinion.

"The Kissinger State Department shows no inclination to talk tough.

"A willingness to deal with the devil may be a diplomatic virtue. But must one always acquiesce, if only by silence, in the devil's . . . work."

* * *

The Japan PEN Club, which includes among its members many outstanding Japanese authors and writers, was torn asunder by an internal dispute when two of its members, Prof. Koji Shirai of Keio University and writer Taisuke Fujishimi expressed themselves at a news conference that they did not think that the trial of the well known poet Kim Chi Ha represented a trial for suppression of speech.

Resenting the defense of the Park Chung Hee repressions, especially in relation to Kim Chi Ha, a number of outstanding Japanese authors and other members of the PEN Club, took issue and quit the PEN Club. Among them was the writer Ms. Sawako Ariyoshi. She was followed by two other popular writers, Ms. Harumi Setouchi and Ryotaro Shiba. Ms. Shiba, one of the most influential writers in Japan, was a Director of the Pen Club. She called on the Club to dissolve itself. Another popular writer, Shotaro Yasuoka, also quit as a Director of the PEN Club.

* * *

Speaking at a luncheon in his residence in Seoul on August 1st, before visiting American newsmen of Tokyo-based reporters for the New York Times, the Washington Post and other newspapers, south Korea's Premier Kim Jong Pil declared:

"Democracy and freedom in Korea will have to wait until the country of south Korea is strong and when per capita income has arisen to $1,000.00. Then the time will come to relax."

(Per capita goal of $1,000 of the south Korean government official is a decade from now. The 1973 per capita in south Korea was $373.00. Editor, Koreascope)

* * *

From Newsweek:

"South Korea is in the midst of a storm of repression unprecedented in Park's ironhanded regime. . . .

"Park maintained that a . . . crackdown was necessary to protect south Korea from subversion by communist north Korea. But international criticism was mounting, and even Park's old allies in Washington express displeasure—though not enough for the Administration to propose a reduction in US aid."

However, despite the Kissinger-Nixonian Doctrine of covering up all the crimes of our foreign policy under the label of "national interest is at stake," American voices were continuing to speak up more strongly against Park, and Newsweek continues:

"Some US diplomats insisted that Park was over-

playing the possibility of subversion in south Korea for his own political ends. . . .

"A growing number of Congressmen appear to back the idea of cutting support for Park."

According to Newsweek's man from Seoul, Paul Brinkly Rogers:

"Eyewitnesses substantiated stories that police employed water torture and connected electrical cords to the genitals of some of Park's political prisoners."

According to Newsweek, "Dozens of south Korean scholars and churchmen have mysteriously vanished in recent months and turned up before Park's military judges."

* * *

ORGANIZATIONS' COMMENTS

The US National Lawyers Guild at their 1974 Annual Convention in Minneapolis passed a resolution charging the ruling regime in southern Korea with "conducting a reign of terror against all progressive people of that country."

The resolution also criticized the U.S. refusal to enter a permanent peace agreement with North Korea and supported the demand that a non-aggression agreement be reached between the U.S. and the DPRK with a provision that there be no U.S. interference in the internal affairs of the Korean people.

* * *

The ROK Students' Association in Washington, D.C. published a statement concerning the current situation in South Korea and demanded the prompt release of all political prisoners in Southern Korea.

* * *

American-Korean Friendship and Information Center:

"The spectre of scores of poets, students, publishers, trade unionists, clergy, opposition political leaders, and foreign residents being rounded up and summarily sentenced to death or long prison terms must violate the conscience of all human beings.

"The word 'fascism' is often overused or misused, but in the case of South Korea today, fascism is the only apt characterization of a regime which shuns even the trappings of democracy."

* * *

A CABLEGRAM TO HIS HOLINESS POPE PAUL VI, VATICAN CITY (ITALY):

THIS APPEAL IS IN BEHALF OF FOLLOWING MEN:

KIM DAE JUNG, OPPOSITION PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE IN SOUTH KOREA, 1971 AND MEMBER OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH; CHANG JOON HA, EX-ASSEMBLYMAN, EDITOR, SASANGGE AND RECIPIENT OF THE COVETED MAGSAY-SAY PRIZE; CHON KWAN WOO, EX-EDITOR OF DONG-A DAILY AND INCORRUPTIBLE CHAMPION OF THE FREEDOM OF SPEECH; KIM DONG GIL, HIGHLY RESPECTED PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, YONSIE UNIVERSITY; KIM CHI HA, INTERNATIONALLY KNOWN POET AND UNCOMPROMISING FOE OF DICTATORSHIP.

KIM DAE JUNG WAS ABDUCTED IN JAPAN 1973 AND SPIRITED OUT OF THE COUNTRY BY KOREA CIA. AFTER TWO MONTHS' INTERROGATION HE WAS DECLARED FREE BY THE SEOUL GOVERNMENT. HOWEVER HE WAS DENIED PERMISSION TO TRAVEL TO THE UNITED STATES FOR MEDICAL TREATMENT FOR SCIATICA. PRESENTLY HE IS BEING TRIED ON PURELY POLITICAL CHARGES. IT IS FEARED THAT UNLESS HE IS PERMITTED TO LEAVE KOREA HIS HEALTH MAY BE DANGER-

CHANG JOON HA, SENTENCED TO 15-YEAR IMPRISONMENT FOR SEEKING TO PETITION FOR GOVERNMENTAL REFORM, BECAME SO WEAKENED BY TORTURE THAT HE HAS BEEN ALLOWED TO RECEIVE TREATMENT IN A SEOUL HOSPITAL. HE WILL BE RETURNED TO JAIL IF AND WHEN HE RECOVERS. HIS FRIENDS FEAR HE WILL NOT SURVIVE 15-YEAR IMPRISONMENT.

MESSRS. CHON KWAN WOO, KIM DONG GIL AND KIM CHI HA ARE ALL IN JAIL OR UNDER BRUTAL INTERROGATIONS. DISINTERESTED IN POLITICS, THEY NEVERTHELESS FELT IT THEIR DUTY TO SPEAK OUT AGAINST WHAT THEY BELIEVE TO BE THE INJUSTICE OF THE GOVERNMENT. PLEASE USE YOUR INFLUENCE IN BEHALF OF THE MEN AS WELL AS MESSRS. KIM DAE JUNG AND CHANG JOON HA.

CHANNING LIEM, FORMER SOUTH KOREAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS

* * *

Kalevi Sorsa, Prime Minister of the Republic of Finland, sent a telegram to the Seoul Regime on August 2 protesting against the repression by Park's gestapo who are punishing and murdering south Korean youth, students and democratic figures.

In the telegram he stressed:

"Having heard the news that the south Korean authorities passed death sentences on many people on charges of violation of the 'emergency measures,' I from the humanitarian point of view, demand the south Korean authorities revoke death sentences passed on them."

* * *

The Danish Foreign Ministry also issued a similar statement.

* * *

Olof Palme, Premier of Sweden, issued a statement on August 12 protesting against the atrocities of the Seoul regime.

In the statement he said:

"The Swedish Government demands that Park Chung Hee of southern Korea cancel death sentences passed upon people on charges of opposing the 'emergency measures.'

"Sweden affirms her opposition to the death penalty.

"We have actively participated for many years in the work of the United Nations for the abolishment of the death penalty and against the contempt for the lives of people through the application of the death penalty."

* * *

The Communist Youth Union of Sweden proclaimed a "month of solidarity in support of the Korean people's independent and peaceful reunification" and held a mass rally in Goteborg on June 25. The meeting adopted a resolution supporting the Korean people's struggle for the country's independent and peaceful

reunification. The Sweden-Korea Friendship Association also had a solidarity meeting in Stockholm.

* * *

On June 24 the representatives of public circles in Moscow held a meeting where a resolution was adopted expressing solidarity with the Korean people's struggle. Mass rallies, meetings and friendship soires were also held and other functions arranged in Kiev, Vladivostok, Nakhodka and other cities.

* * *

The First Asian Youth Conference, which was held recently in Tokyo, turned into a solidarity rally for the imprisoned students of southern Korea.

A resolution was passed that dealt with coordinating international actions for the release of arrested and detained political activists in south Korea.

On the last day of the conference about 100 delegates marched on the south Korean embassy in Tokyo to demand the immediate release of those students who were sentenced to death by military courts in Seoul.

* * *

The International Organization of Journalists recently voiced its opposition to the suppression going on in southern Korea.

The IOJ declared that such outrages committed in disregard of the protest of people all over the world indicate "the fascist nature of the government in Seoul."

The IOJ called upon its national affiliates to make known their opposition to the repression that is sweeping southern Korea.

* * *

Parliamentarians from the Italian Communist Party (PCI) have told their government to recognize the Pyongyang government at the earliest date possible.

In a speech delivered at a session of the Foreign Relations Council of the Chamber of Deputies, PCI parliamentarian Cirgresoni pointed out that recognition of the DPRK by the Italian government would meet the demands of the climate of detente.

* * *

"We call for immediate action to end the terror of the Park Chung Hee regime and to save the lives of all the victims now in (Seoul's) prisons." Thus read the call of the Communist Party, USA to President Gerald Ford in a special telegram to the White House.

The telegram, signed by National Chairman Henry Winston and General Secretary Gus Hall, declared that "punishment by death for all dissenters became the rule in South Korea with the April 23 Emergency Decree of President Park Chung Hee . . . During 10 days 250 workers, students, teachers and political activists were convicted on trumped-up charges . . . Fourteen students were sentenced to death . . . hundreds are awaiting possible death sentences.

"The regime of Park Chung Hee is that of a brutal fascist dictatorship. All this now has the support of your Administration, the C.I.A. and the U.S. Armed Forces—with huge sums of money from U.S. taxpayers by acts of Congress. That must be halted."

In a statement issued with the telegram, the Communist leaders declared:

"We call on the American people to launch a mighty people's protest of telegrams and letters and delegations to President Gerald Ford, Secretary Henry Kissinger and to all members of the U.S. Congress to end the terror in South Korea.

"The blood flows in South Korea, but the hand that holds the knife is in Washington."

* * *

The Central Committee of the World Council of Churches meeting in West Berlin on August 16, adopted a resolution charging the governments in Seoul and Manila with "abuse of power, repression and abridgement of justice and freedom," and calling for the release of "any persons detained in violation of human rights."

* * *

South Korean Catholic Bishop Chi Hak Sun published a "declaration of conscience" in Seoul and stated that he "cannot comply with the summons of the military court" as his conscience and justice "do not allow it," denouncing the high-handed act of the Park Chung Hee regime which had ordered him to appear in the military court.

Recalling the outrage of his arrest from a plane returning to Seoul from a foreign trip recently, the clergyman said:

"As I was whisked off from the airport by force, I take this opportunity to declare that it was not of my own volition, no matter what the military court may say."

* * *

The Pakistan Committee of Solidarlity with Third World Youth has come out in support of the democratic struggles of the south Korean students. The Committee has urged progressive youth throughout the world to prevent the permanent split of Korea into two sections.

* * *

The Norway-Korea Solidarity Committee sent a letter to the U.S. Congress supporting the proposal of the People's Assembly of the DPRK to replace the Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement.

The letter declared that the Committee considers the "concrete position" of the DPRK a fair and realistic measure that will help lessen the tension on the Korean peninsula.

It also requested that the U.S. Congress make every sincere effort to hold successful talks with the DPRK on the basis of the proposal on concluding a peace agreement.

* * *

A solidarity meeting was held at the DPRK House of Culture in Cairo, Egypt recently. On the platform were the flags of the DPRK and the United Arab Republic.

Attending the meeting were functionaries of Egyptian central organs.

The national anthems of the DPRK and the United Arab Republic were played at the meeting, which was addressed by the Director of the DPRK House of Culture.

In his speech, the director expressed support for the restoration of the occupied land and solidarity with the Palestinian people in their struggle for the restoration of their legal rights.

* * *

Rep. Michael McFadden, Missionary of the Colum-

bian Order of Catholic Priests, Diocese of Wonju, south Korea, stated:

"It is the clear moral responsibility of the U.S. to take whatever steps are necessary to disassociate itself from the Park government and allow the Korean people to reassert their own allegiance to the democracy we claim to be protecting by our present untenable position."

* * *

On August 14th, the American Jesuit Missions, at a St. Paul, Minn. conference, protested the arrest and conviction of south Korean churchmen, students and political leaders.

* * *

Five U.S. Marines stationed in Iwakumi, Japan, were arrested on July 12 and 13 for appealing for the suspension of U.S. aid to Korea. The five are Gerald MacCauley, Hugh Dalton, Robert Falatime, Patrick McDonald and Frank Huff. They are charged with circulating a letter addressed to Senator William Fulbright, protesting U.S. support for the "anti-democratic dictatorship in south Korea."

Their letter to Fulbright reads in part, "The lives of those in south Korea speaking out for democratic rights must be saved. If not, the words 'freedom' and 'democracy' will have been made a mockery of once more under an American-supported regime."

Four of the five have ben confined to their base or barracks for periods up to 45 days. Special courts-martial are to begin within the next few weeks. A defense committee to support the five Marines has been formed. Its address is: Iwakuni Five Defense Committee, P.O. Box 49, Kwukuni-shi, Yamaguchi-ken, Japan 740.

* * *

(The following are excerpts of a message from students of the College of Liberal Arts, Seoul National University, written in February 1974 and smuggled out in a medicine bottle)

"Today South Korea is a captive of a regime whose severity of repression is unsurpassed. Under it thousands of intellectuals, educators, clergymen and students are jailed, tortured, maimed and killed. While Solzhenitsyn is heard the world over, these brave defenders of freedom in our country go unheeded. Every day more of our people are rounded up by government agents, without warrants and in strict secrecy. Tens of thousands of other dissenters are the object of harassment by ubiquitous government agents. The latter are found everywhere; and no place, not even *one's home, is safe from them. To voice criticism* against the government is to risk imprisonment up to 15 years.

"We admire you for your declaration of independence. We love Lincoln's idealism. We are heartened by the Jeffersonian doctrine of man's inherent rights. We believe that many of you still adhere to those ideals which led the U.S. to war against Nazi Germany and imperialist Japan. We see your indignation against the Watergate scandal as proof that Americans still hold fast to the concept of the rule of law.

"Therefore, we appeal to you to hear us. The government of Park Chung Hee is as fascistic as the Nazi rule was in its worst period. Knowing that it cannot remain in power through legitimate means, it is ruling by brute force. The abduction of Kim Dac Jung and the continued harassment of him serve as the illustration of how lawless and vindictive a government it is. We hear people around us whisper: 'No fascist rule can be so bad.'

"The Park government is not only repressive; it is utterly incompetent. Most of our people, with the exception of a small number of multi-millionaires, are hungry, cold and see no hope for the future. Desperate for livelihood, many of our young girls are forced to sell their flesh to foreign tourists who frequent expensive high-rise hotels which the Park government advertises as the symbol of 'economic miracles.'

"Surely one is entitled to expect something better than these of a government sustained by the military and economic help of the United States. To continue to prop up a despotic and bungling regime just because it claims to be anti-Communist is a self-destructive policy in the long run for both the United States and South Korea."

* * *

The long arm of repression of South Korea's dictator Park whose power-madness led him to decree death to any one criticizing his rule is reaching over to the American shores. His agents in this country are out to silence not only Koreans but Americans as well. One of their familiar devices is red-scare, and they seek to appeal to conservatively inclined police officers.

On June 8, 1974 a Korean student, a minor, was arrested in Chicago by a policeman for posting a notice with a photo of President Park on and reading: "Wanted: Park Chung Hee, for murder of democracy in South Korea." The officer said: "Wait a minute. That's the poster. You are under arrest."

The Korean youth: "What am I charged with?"

Officer: "I'm supposed to bring in someone with this poster."

Korean Youth: "What am I arrested for?"

Officer: "We'll find out when we get to the station."

The Korean youth was frisked, handcuffed and taken to the station, where three notices in specific reference to this poster were shown him. He was photographed and finger-printed for criminal record. During three hours of interrogation two men from the Korean Consulate arrived and one of them proceeded to question the youth. Upon being challenged as to his legal authority to do so, the police had to warn the Korean agent against it.

It was soon evident that the real reason for the arrest of the Korean youth was not the posting of a notice but the posting of this particular one. There was a collusion between the Korean Consulate and the police. Undoubtedly the police had trusted the integrity of the Korean Consulate agents. But when these men sought to usurp the power of the American police, they were booted out.

On June 18 the Korean youth was tried before a Cook County Court. The judge dismissed the case on advice of the police authorities and ordered the youth's photo and fiinger prints destroyed. Had the

trial been held in South Korea, the youth would have been executed.

A spokesman for Korean Congress of Democracy and Unification, Chicago, expressed pleasure concerning the outcome of the case. ". . . we never thought, and we do not now think, we were violating the Constitution of the United States, because all we did was to draw the attention of the American public to the shocking realities of South Korea. They should know what kind of a tyrant their tax money is supporting in South Korea."

* * *

COMMENTS IN JAPAN

The Japan Democratic Literature Association adopted a resolution denouncing the repression of the Park regime in South Korea, and also protesting the pro-Park stand of the Japan PEN Club (Poets, Essayists and Novelists Club). The resolution called Park's repressions "barbarous" and noted that Seoul has passed a death sentence on Kim Chi Ha, South Korea's leading poet.

* * *

The "Union of South Korean Youth in Japan" held an emergency meeting and demonstration in Tokyo, Japan.

Displayed at the meting were slogans which called for the end of the Park regime.

* * *

The permanent Secretariat of the Korean Religionists Council in Japan issued an appeal to international religious organizations, and clergymen.

The appeal says:

"We express our profound respect to you and your organizations for working for world peace, primary source of human happiness, and for the salvation of the earthly paradise and the Heaven.

"Your attention is called upon the fact that in the southern half of our country patriotic religious people, together with people at large, are coming out at the dictate of their conscience in the struggle for freedom, democracy and a reunified home, and at the risk of their lives.

"Park Chung Hee's junta has changed South Korea into a living hell where a slaughter campaign is raging with fierceness in order to bolster up the collapsing fascist rule and keep them in power. Many innocent religious people have been sentenced to death or life imprisonment on absurd charges of being "communists" or spies.

"Unable to sit idle at this state of affairs, we Korean religionists in Japan have decided to act to denounce with indignation the vicious rampage now being conducted by the Park Chung Hee military junta."

* * *

Bishop Nobuo Soma and Professor Kinhide Musakoji of the Japanese Catholic Committee for Justice and Peace issued a statement on July 12.

"The Japanese Committee for Justice and Peace expresses its deep concern about the serious infringements on human rights which are presently taking place in the Republic of Korea."

* * *

In Tokyo, the *Mainichi* daily newspaper reported that Japanese investments in southern Korea have been cut in half in the first six months of this year. *Mainichi,* Tokyo's leading bourgeois evening daily, said the cut reflects first of all Japanese industrialists' fear that Park's regime has alienated practically the entire south Korean population and is bound to be overthrown sooner or later. Secondly, *Mainichi* said the cut is the result of the anger and indignation of the Japanese public over the gangster-like actions of the Seoul dictatorship.

* * *

A regular convention of the Japan National Socialist Mayors Association consisting of 137 socialist mayors of Japan adopted a statement opposing the Park Chung Hee dictatorial system of South Korea and the Tanaka cabinet of Japan for backing it.

The statement noted: two years have passed since the publication of the north-south joint statement supported and welcomed by all countries of the world. But a number of things are going on in south Korea against the agreed spirit.

"The Japanese government of the Liberal Democratic Party supported and cooperated with south Korea, both politically and economically under the Japan-ROK treaty, but strong voices denouncing the 'aid' are ringing out from among the south Korean people.

"It is a well known fact that in south Korea all democratic opinion and actions are regarded as a crime and a large number of politicians, men of culture and students have been arrested and condemned to death and/or heavy penalties.

"Deeply apprehensive over such situations in south Korea, the nearest country to Japan, we sincerely hope that a democratic step will be taken without delay.

"In particular, the kidnapping of Kim Dae Jung by the South Korean CIA are acts that ignore the sovereignty of Japan."

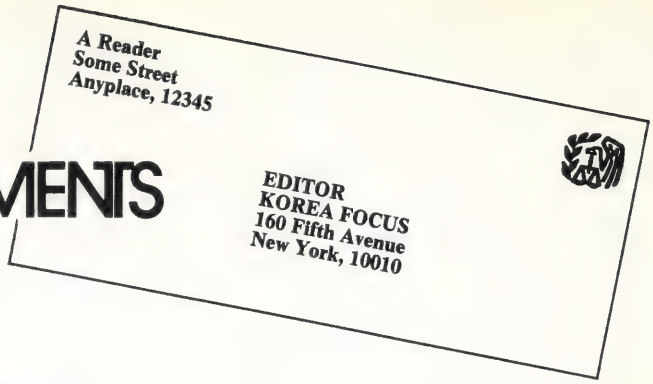
The Mayors called upon the Japanese Government to use its influence to secure the freedom of Kim Dae Jung and ban the activity of the South Korean CIA in Japan.

* * *

The pro-DPRK Committee of the League of Korean Youth in Japan (Chochong) made public a statement on July 15.

The statement supported the anti-Park struggle in South Korea by the students.

On the other hand, the ROK Youth Union in Japan held a meeting in Tokyo denouncing the sentencing and heavy penalties on South Korean students.



READER COMMENTS

Korea Focus has received the following letter which we reprint in full, followed by the reply to the letter, by Prof. Fred J. Carrier:

A copy of your publication "Korean Focus" came across my desk yesterday, I thought I would be delighted to read a pamphlet professing friendship to the American people until I started to leaf through its pages.

I can understand the desire of north Korea to seek a propaganda vehicle in the United States. I receive similar magazines from the USSR and from Hungary. What distinguishes them from "Korea Focus" is the absence of the vituperative anti-U.S.A. polemics which is found on page after page of your publication. If you profess "friendship," but mean "hate" instead, why use a deceptive title?

Another perplexing aspect of your propaganda sheet is the fact that it lists a dozen persons, some of them with academic titles, whose names in no way indicate that they are of Korean origin. What possible motivation could these people, could you, the editorial board, have to heap abuse on the country which, if not your native country, is the one which grants you the privilege of living in it, under conditions which, albeit imperfect, are far superior to those of a dictatorship like that of north Korea. Unless I am blind or utterly naive, I cannot conceive of people who have sold their souls and yet continue to reap the benefits of a society which they have set out to slander in a treasonous manner.

Perhaps you can enlighten me.

Horst A. Reschke
P.O. Box 157
Colorado Springs, Clo. 80901

I am shocked by your letter which expresses a narrow-minded patriotism. It is appalling to me that some Americans construe "love of country" to mean willingness to support any policy regardless of its consequences to others. I am an American, to be sure, but I am first of all a human being. As a human being, and as an American, it is not only my right but my duty to oppose those actions of the U.S. government and its armed forces which are destructive of life and independence of other people.

Surely you cannot think, at this late date, that the U.S. armed forces were on an errand of mercy while wreaking destruction in Vietnam, Cambodia and, at an earlier date, Korea! Who are the real patriots, the Berrigans and Ellsbergs, or the Nixons, Agnews and Ehrlichmans?

You erroneously state that Korea Focus exists to "profess friendship to the American people." Since our Center is comprised of Americans what purpose would we have to express friendship to ourselves? Our purpose is to express the friendship of the American people (despite the hostile policy of our government) toward the people of Korea. As an expression of friendship, we are resolved to oppose United States policies which are aggressive or imperialist and which seek to keep Korea divided in order to maintain one part of it as an American base.

While you make unfounded charges (echoing the U.S. State Department) regarding north Korea, you seem unaware that an oppressive dictatorship in fact exists in south Korea. I am enclosing an article by Don Oberdorfer, of the Washington Post, in which he details the effects of martial law in punishing every act of free expression. Will you deem this author anti-American, too, for stating the facts?

If you wish to know more about the living conditions in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (north), I recommend my book NORTH KOREAN JOURNEY where I report simply and honestly what I saw. The book will be published this fall.

I hope that as an American you will continue to value freedom of thought and expression.

Fred J. Carrier
Co-Chairman of the American-Korean
Friendship and Information Center

I am very grateful to you for sending us two copies of your publication 'Korea Focus.' I have just finished writing a booklet on our tour of Pyongyang. I will send you a copy.

The delegation that visited Austria from Pyongyang met with a great deal of interest and respect and had meetings with various ministers and high officials. The DPRK trade delegation has already established itself in a permanent office in Vienna. We were able to put the Pyongyang delegation on our TV; we were able to organize for them a few lectures and generally keep them busy telling the people of Austria the story of the DPRK.

My wife and I were very pleased to meet you and the other members of your delegation while we were

in Pyongyang and I wish to congratulate you on your efforts and your work.

Prof. Dr. Herbert Steiner
Vienna, Austria

I thought you would be interested in the article illustrating the plight of lepers in south Korea. The article was published in the Washington Star News.

However, the purpose of this letter is for a different reason. I was wondering if, in the future, an article couldn't be written dealing with the reference in the farewell address of the AKFIC delegation while in the DPRK, to the alleged U.S. use of bacteriological warfare during the Korean War. I have never seen any documentation of this, although I have read that communist sources did broadcast reports of it during the war.

(We refer you to articles in the National Guardian, Daily Worker and other publications as well as to the book by I. F. Stone "The Hidden History of the Korean War," James Aronson's "The Press and the Cold War" and D. F. Fleming's "The Cold War and Its Origins." Editors)

Paul Denit

Please send eight each of the current issue and previous issues of Korea Focus.

There was recently a demonstration in front of the Korean Consulate in Honolulu protesting the arrests, death sentences and fascist dictatorship of south Korea. Nine persons were arrested for trespassing when they tried to see the Consulate General to discuss the issue with him. And although the demonstration was very small and very peaceful consulate personnel were extremely uptight. The few of us thought they were acting so because they were afraid they might get sent back to south Korea for punishment if they did not handle the situation with force and speed, in accordance with Park Chung Hee's CIA practices.

Anyway, the trial is set to take place in the latter part of the year for eight people. One of those arrested was dropped because she was a minor.

Ann H. Olsen
Red Flag Bookstore
12 No. School Street
Honolulu, Hawaii 96817

(Among those arrested were Donna Park; Prof. Oliver Lee, political science Univ. of Hawaii; James Albertini; John Reinecke; Mary Neilson; Christy Schofield; Elaine Schwartz and Claire Crossman.)

Please send me ten copies of the August-September isue. I can only afford $5 now.

I would like to do an article with interviews of veteran Scott D. Oliver, on the war and occupation in Korea, including my brother-in-law and several other people I know.

Your editorial staff did a very fine job on this last issue. I was a little put out that you did not list me as sending in the newspaper article, but I figure you had your reasons.

Several weeks ago I read a book "Operation Splinter Factor" by Stewart Steven about the CIA and its formation following World War II. In the chapter on Korea in this book, it is outright cold war lies. However, on the point of the Soviet Union's vote, he says they could have voted but I figure they did not because they could not veto at that point. I would like you to enlighten me on this point. (A member of the Editorial Board has been authorized to reply to you on this question. Ed.)

Reading the article in the Charlotte Observer by Scott D. Oliver, has prompted me to re-read back issues of your publication, Korea Focus, which I only skimmed through in the past and I must say they are very good.

Bill Carothers
North Carolina

We have received the following from a prisoner in San Luis Obispo, California jail B-34339, Room 7274:

A few days back I received my first two copies of Korea Focus. I am pleased that you have been good enough to put me on your subscription list. It has opened my eyes, especially the last issue where you printed the article by the fellow visiting the DPRK, an American. I really felt that article, and look forward eagerly to receiving more of your publication. I guess, all I can say is thanks. I read the letters you received and would like to see my letter there—if not this one, some day, because your cause is just and I am not ashamed to stand up for it.

Russell E. Balkwill

(Numerous prisoners languishing unjustly in the Watergate-McCarthyite jails of the U.S.A. would very much like to receive copies of our publication, Korea Focus. However, lack of finances restricts us. Any of you reading this letter who wishes to pay for a subscription to Korea Focus to a prisoner would be greatly appreciated. Korea Focus, Circulation Dept.)

While editing of my review "Central Asia In Modern Times" by D. Kaushik in Korea Focus, Vol. II, No. 4, was good and appreciated, I nevertheless wish to make two important corrections, one perhaps of my own wording:

1. To the south of Soviet Asia it is the literate rather than the illiterate who are most revolutionary and desirous of emulating citizens of the Soviet Republics, for they are informed, and relatively much freer than the illiterate from religious and reactionary misdirection.

The massacres of intellectuals in Indonesia, south Korea, south Vietnam, Greece, Chile, Iran and several other countries since World War II often led by CIA agents, is a current counter-revolutionary fascist feature deserving of intense study.

2. Intermarriages throughout Soviet Asia and all the Republics especially in Uzbekistan are so common, especially among the educated, and all are getting educated, that already the names of the Republics are more historical than descriptive of ethnic composition.

H. C. Steinmetz
California

Enclosed is my check for $25 in payment of copies of current issue of Korea Focus. I plan to circulate these copies from time to time. Some of these copies have already been placed in the library of the Howard University Mooreland-Spingarn Research Center.

George B. Murphy, Jr.
Washington, DC.

I am very grateful for the magazines you have sent but if at all possible I would really appreciate your help in sending me a few copies of the English publication printed in the DPRK.

I am really interested in the subject and think the U.S.A. should recognize the DPRK.

Paul Denit
Maryland

The latest issue of Korea Focus (Vol. III, No. 1) in which my article appears, just arrived. As usual, it is a very good issue. I gather that Korea Focus is making considerable impact on the thinking of some Americans since it began its publication.

Bill Pomeroy
London, England

The "Letter to Congress" which you mailed to me, I brought to the attention of the Labor-Community Alliance, a local organization that I belong to. They went on record endorsing the Letter. You will be hearing from the organization separately.

There is another Honolulu organization called the Hawaii Committee For a Free south Korea. I am enclosing a leaflet they have been circulating. I don't know if they are in touch with you, but suggest that you make contact with them.

Max Roffman
Honolulu, Hawaii

Thank you very much for promptly sending us all the published issues of your magazines, Korea Focus. You were also very thoughtful to mail us the galleys of the most recent issue. It contained several details of places in north Korea which were also mentioned in our article.

When our article on north Korea in the August issue of National Geographic becomes available, we will be glad to send you a complimentary copy in appreciation of your kind assistance.

Mrs. M. M. Butler
For the Research Staff

It is my pleasure to acknowledge with many thanks receipt of all the back issues of Korea Focus, including your position paper "Operation War Shift," two copies each.

We deeply appreciate your kindness in sending this material to the Library of Congress and for agreeing to place us on your mailing list and sending us your publication as a gift for the readers and researchers of the Library of Congress.

Nathan R. Einhorn
Chief Exchange & Gift Dept.
Library of Congress

A belated but sincere thanks for your prompt replies to my requests for literature. I am now in receipt of most of the writing of Kim Il Sung due to your kind cooperation. I hope you will keep me informed of any new and additional material of interest from the DPRK, especially in the fields of politics, economics and history.

As a student, I am most interested in developments in that country.

Edward W. Kloth
Seattle, Wash.

I have read of your organization through the "Youth Information Digest" which is published by the Washington Workshops Press.

I am interested in subscribing to your periodical and details regarding joining your group.

Thank you for your time.

Timothy J. Gilfoyle
Pennsylvania

The enclosed is for a renewal of my membership. I'm sorry to be tardy which may have given the impression I had lost interest in the Korean cause. However, such is not the case—I have been waiting for my tax relief check available to senior citizens, and I am just in receipt of same.

The "Focus" has been of tremendous help to me—in fact it has made very clear the whole history of that infamous war. A repetition must be averted by some means, perhaps the letter to Congress may eventually, even at this late date, ring a bell in the heads of enough of our obtuse Congressman to alert the body to the necessity of a review of the situation leading to a reversal of U.S. policy as suggested in the March 25th letter from North Korea.

That they have not even acknowledged receipt of the letter is incomprehensible to me when the government is claiming to be diligently in pursuit of world peace. I do not know how many individuals are impressed with their rhetoric—they probably have not learned of the plans of the Pentagon to create automated battlefields wherever in the world the financial interests of the U.S. corporations are threatened.

I am completely disillusioned with a system which permits such inhumanity and subsidizes the totalitarian regimes which are guilty of such atrocities as are occurring in Chile for which the U.S. is largely responsible. I opt for Socialism and a way of life which provides all mankind with freedom from war and all the ills which are inherent in a capitalist society.

The time is getting late.

Della F. Brown
California

UNGA IN A WORLD OF FLUX

(Continued from Page 12)

policies, suffered over 50,000 killed, 150,000 maimed, most for life, and billions of dollars expended for destruction.

The U.S. monopolists with the aid of their Japanese allies imposed upon the southern half of the Korean peninsula a neo-colonialist, social and economic system aided in this by a gang of native Quislings.

To facilitate the continued exploitation of the people, robbing their wealth and natural resources, the U.S.-Japanese colonialists have for the past two decades continued, excerbated, and provoked the ongoing fratricidal struggle in a divided Korea.

Using the UN as a camouflage, the military-industrial complex continues the exploitation in the name of Nixonian "national security" and phoney Pentagon crises of "red aggression" and similar scary tales.

For years the U.S. chiefs in the UN proclaimed to the world that their creature UNCURK (United Nations Commission for Reunification and Rehabilitation of Korea) was in Korea to observe and safeguard the interests of the UN. They proclaimed that Korea must remain divided forever as long as the socialist north, the DPRK exists, and continues to prosper. They shouted, and keep shouting from the rooftops that U.S. troops must stay in South Korea to safeguard the ramparts of Syngman Rhee, and now Park Chung Hee's "democratic liberties."

But times are changing: The process to make detente irreversible, peaceful coexistence between nations a continuous policy of internations relations and world peace a reality is continuing despite the opposition of war-minded forces.

Detente is obviously not 'brotherhood' and peaceful coexistence is not 'comradery.' That is why the peace movements the world over never let their guard down and always remain alert, active and poised to return blow for blow to those who want to reverse the irreversible march towards detente and return to cold and hot wars of atomic destruction.

Speaking at a dinner in the Kremlin, honoring Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party on a visit to the Soviet capital, Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, declared:

"Recent times have been rich in significant events in world politics. The recent change of leadership in the U.S. has attracted close attention in the world. . . .

"Highly acclaimed in the USSR is the turn for the better in Soviet-U.S. relations which has taken place due to the constructive efforts of both sides in recent years. Therefore, we received with satisfaction the statement by President Gerald Ford about his personal intention and that of his administration to continue the course for a further development of relations between our countries in the same direction. . . .

"We are firmly convinced that in the efforts for consolidation of peace, for deepening detente and its development, no pauses should be made."

This growing and continuous relations between nations, especially the U.S. and USSR, is becoming the dominant form of international contact and cooperation between nations regardless of the social and economic form of society and government in the respective countries.

The first secretary of the Polish Communist Party, Edward Gierek, summarized a basic significance of these changing times most succinctly, when on October 9, 1974 he told the General Assembly of the United Nations that his visit to the U.S.A. for talks and negotiations with the U.S. government was one of the results of East-West detente. Mr. Gierek observed further:

> *"The Soviet-American dialogue exercises a positive influence on the entire world situation and is conducive to a general improvement in international relations."*

He stated that his country and the U.S. were "opening up new opportunities" for further cooperation.

He called on all countries, regardless of size and social systems to join in the movement for detente, by making constructive contributions to its further development.

The twenty-ninth UNGA session is confronting imperialism with the main essence of contemporary anti-imperialist struggles raging in the world.

These new shifts in world international relations have exercised favorable influence on events of importance, for example those involving the Korean question.

The 28th (1973) Session of UNGA moved forward, despite vehement opposition from the Park Chung Hee regime, and the masterminds of Washington and Tokyo trying to maneuver the UN into adopting a "two-Koreas" policy, which would have formalized and frozen for years to come and unnaturally divided Korea. Despite such maneouvers and pressures, the 28th Session of the United Nations, following in the wake of growing detente, not only rejected the maneuver of a "two Koreas" policy, but went further than that by dissolving UNCURK and upholding the position of the majority of the Korean people, both north and south, in their struggle for peaceful and independent reunification.

The fact that peaceful reunification negotiations are stalemated and at a standstill for the moment, is due entirely to the Park Chung Hee clique of south Korea, which is resorting to repressing the south Korean people because of their strong activities and desire for reunification.

Referring to the Joint Statement of north and south Korea agreed upon by both sides on July 4, 1972, *Korea Focus* (in its issue Vol. I, No. 3, 1972, on page 4), warned and foresaw the difficulties in the struggle for reunification:

"Lest there be any illusions about the rate of progress toward unification, it is clear that the most reactionary forces in south Korea, all of them huddled within and about the government of President Park Chung Hee, will do their utmost to hinder that progress. They will be abetted in their efforts by their counterparts in the governing and industrial establishments of the United States and Japan."

The current (1974) 29th UNGA session is now continuing the pace set at the 28th Session by moving forward in the direction of trying to resolve a major obstacle interfering with the efforts of the Korean people for negotiating peacefully and independently the reunification of their country, that is the continued existence and stationing of foreign troops and war materiel, including tactical atomic weapons, on the soil of south Korea by a foreign power, the U.S.A. (There are no foreign troops in north Korea, the DPRK.)

The peace-loving peoples of the world are incensed that the stationing of such foreign military manpower and material is hypocritically being carried through by the USA under the false pretense of "UN military command." Ambassador Traore of Mali spoke the truth when following the vote on the Korean ques- at last years 28th Session of UNGA, he declared that the UN assembly had an obligation if it was to "avoid the bankruptcy of the UN authority," to disengage the UN from the "war of colonial reconquest into which it was dragged in Asia." (Referring of course, to the Korean war—J.B.)

The 29th Session of the UN, by moving to eliminate this false facade, by calling for the abolition of the UN military command and the withdrawal of foreign military forces from the soil of south Korea, is thus moving forward further to help overcome the chief obstacle to the process of Korean reunification.

The 29th UNGA Session is now preparing to debate and to resolve some unfinished business, thus further strengthening the development of detente and peaceful co-existence.

It is in the effort to complete the "disengagement" (referred to above by the Ambassador from Mali) that thirty-seven nations requested the inclusion of an item in the Provisional Agenda of the 29th Session reading: "'Withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations."

The only foreign troops at present in South Korea are from the U.S.A. The sense and intent of the motion introduced by the thirty-seven nations is to dismantle the UNC (United Nations Command) and get U.S. troops out of south Korea by decision of the United Nations.

Thus, troops authorized by the Security Council in 1950 under the name of UNC or United Nations (Military) Command, consist now of close to 40,000 U.S. troops, 100 U.S.

ANDREWS
DAILY WORLD
UN
WELCOME
PALESTINIANS
(AT LONG LAST)

officers and "token" (UN flag carriers in parades) contingents of three soldiers from Thailand and three soldiers from the Philippines.

The UNC also has under its command the Park Chung Hee armed forces; hence, U.S. generals are in overall command of all armed forces poised for provocative military actions on the armistice line, the demarcated 38th parallel. (See *Korea Focus*, Vol. I, No. 1, 1972, "The UN Role in the U.S. War.")

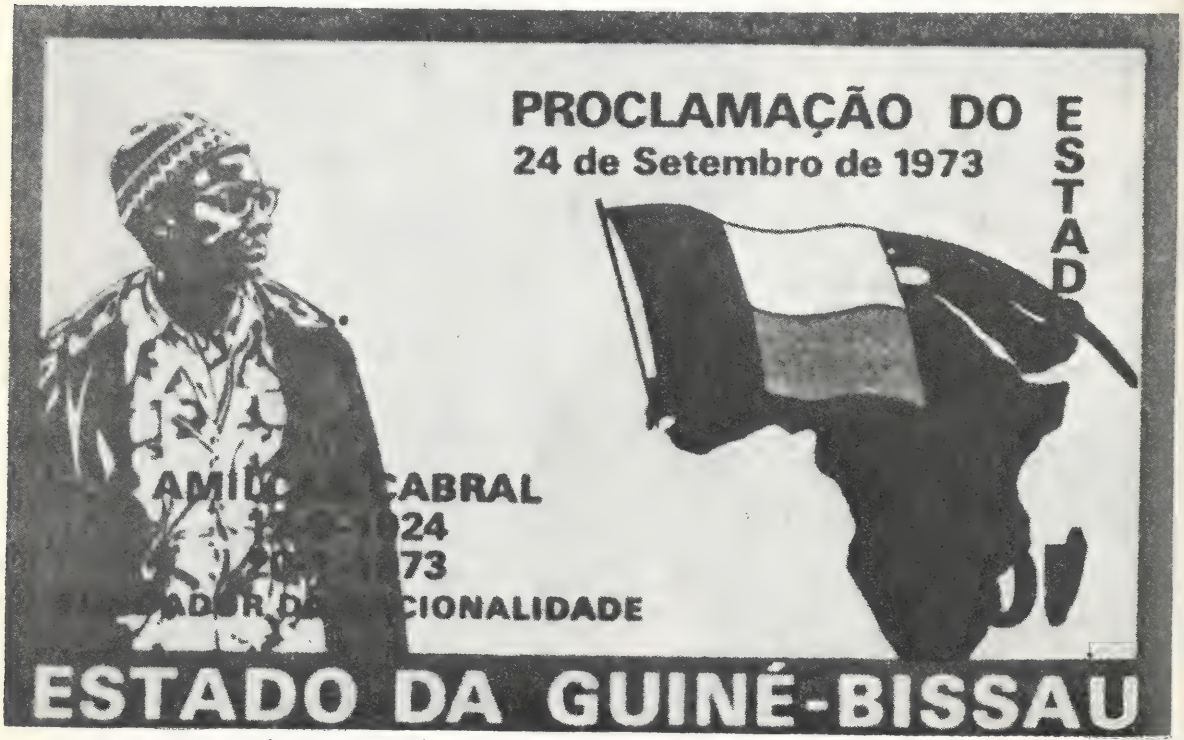
By a decision of the General Committee (which sets up the agenda and allocates agenda items to appropriate bodies) the troop withdrawal proposal was combined with an innocuous bland U.S. proposals to implement the consensus of the 28th Session of UNGA (1973) and "to maintain peace and security on the Korean peninsula." But the principal issue on the agenda is the thirty-seven-nation motion. It has been placed on the agenda as Item 104 under the heading—"Question of Korea." (a)—"Withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in south Korea under the flag of the United Nations;

(b)—"Urgent need to implement fully the consensus of the 28th Session of the General Assembly on the Korean question and to maintain peace and security on the Korean peninsula." (From the UN Document A/9750, 20 September 1974.)

The struggle for peace in the world has always been a difficult task because the oppressors only know one way of resolving their difficulties, contradictions and struggles among themselves. They did it so in the past and are hankering to do it again—now and in the future. Their way is war! But today the people of the world are on guard!

The developing might and continued stable economic growth of the Socialist world community (despite the mouthings of certain imperialist allies that "there is no socialist world") joined by the militant upsurge and movement of the working class under the leadership of the Communist Parties and their allies for political state power in the capitalist countries and the support of the liberated, newly-independent peoples and countries: all these powerful forces are today the main sections of mankind united and struggling in a common front against imperialism.

These forces know well that to make detente,



A weapon in the struggle of Guinea-Bissau for independence.

An American soldier patrols the demarcation line. There are still over 38,000 GIs in South Korea.

peaceful co-existence, national liberation and national independence irreversible they must fashion in proper size a straight jacket to be put on those who continue to resist mankinds aspirations for guaranteed world peace.

The acceleration of all liberation movements leading to the ending of colonialism in the word is best exemplified in the dismantling of the Portuguese imperialist empire coming on the eve of the 29th UNGA session.

These developments call for the 29th UNGA session to begin the process of deciding when and how quickly will colonialism be ended in Puerto Rico, in places where it exists in Africa, and in every hook, nook and corner of the world where the ugly head of colonialism is still polluting mankind.

And so time continues to change and U.S. imperialism is not finding it easy sailing in these turbulent times at the 29th UNGA Session.

That is one of the major reasons why President Ford—the spokesman for the most obnoxious but powerful gangs of colonialists—U.S. imperialism—rushed to utter threats of atomic war and destruction of the people of colonial, neo-colonial, liberated and independent nations.

Ford has been briefed and advised by the articulate spokesmen of monopoly capitalism that what is at stake in the world today is the long years of unjust monopoly-imposed concept of colonial prices set for the wealth—the mineral and natural resources—which the underdeveloped countries sell and the prices for

goods which the same countries buy. (Oil in the Middle-East, copper in Chile, chrome in South Africa, etc.)

This "price" struggle sets in motion a new balance of world forces challenging the role of imperialism and thus confronts contemporary history with the question of whether or not it is useful for mankind to continue the existence of capitalism as a system of social rule in that part of the world where it still prevails.

President Ford in his speech before the 29th UNGA Session on Wednesday, September 18th, unveiled a rusty cold war saber and he waved it over the heads of the UN delegates, especially the representatives of the Middle East and other oil-producing countries.

Using the old Dulles magic wand of the carrot and the big-stick policy, Ford dangled the offer of U.S. aid and then proceeded to blame the oil-producing countries for existing inflation. And, said Mr. Ford in essence, if they do not wish to cooperate with U.S. imperialism he offered a veiled threat to make war if the oil-producing countries do not adjust their economic policies to the needs of U.S. monopoly-made inflation.

Despite rushing in the Doctor (Kissinger—the mastermind and architect of the bloody fascist coup in Chile and of the typical CIA fashioned assassination of Allende) to cover up the Ford threat with soft-peddling generalities, so typical of some of the Harvard demagogue artists, the reaction to Ford's threats was instantaneous.

The response to Ford's blackmail threat of using aid (food, medicine etc.) programs to enforce U.S. monopolists, self-serving interests, not only in Arab oil-producing countries but other countries possessing natural resources of raw materials indispensible for U.S. monopoly to continue their mad dash for profits, was properly rebuffed in the UN debate.

Ford and Kissinger continue to blame the oil producing countries for high oil prices (which the world knows is the responsibility of the U.S. oil monopolies) using such language as "world depression" and "breakdown of world order and safety." This is nothing more than the typical Nixonian bluff, operating Watergate crimes "in the name of national security."

In this case, the objective is to absolve the oil monopolists and their con men like Rockefeller of responsibility and to prepare the public mind for continued increased high gas and oil prices.

The response to such shenanigans of blackmail is not surprising. The Arab papers referred to Ford and Kissinger's speeches as "tantamount to a declaration of war" and said "America . . . threatens nuclear war over petroleum."

The columnist Abu Jawdeh of the conservative Beirut (Lebanon) newspaper "An Nahar" accused Ford/Kissinger campaign as ". . . aimed at suppressing the Palestine cause of the United Nations where the U.S. is in a difficult position."

The rebuff to the Ford/Kissinger threats delivered by the Venezuelan foreign minister, Efraim Schacht Aristeguieta, at the UN Session was in sharp contrast to the saber rattling of the Ford threat. The foreign minister responded: "the welfare of one-third of the world is being achieved at the expense of the other two-thirds." While not naming directly the U.S., he referred to it by further stating: "A single industrialized country, with only 6 per cent of the world's population uses, for its benefit, more than one-half of the mineral resources of the world." He continued by stating that *developed nations obtained their position of great power "through the purchase of raw materials and sources of energy at unfairly low prices."* (our emphasis—J.B.)

He further observed that the UN has been created for dialogue: "And not an arena for the uttering of threats by those who possess the dubious privilege of controlling the means for international intimidation and force."

But times are changing. U.S. imperialism is not finding it easy sailing in the 29th UNGA session.

On top of being forced to accept the placing of a motion on the agenda for the dismantling of the UN (US) Military Command and its withdrawal of its troops from south Korea, in addition, the nations at the 29th Session by an unprecedented vote delivered a historical rebuff to the U.S. imperialists by placing on the agenda the "question of Palestine", by a vote of 105 for, four votes including the U.S. against, and 20 abstentions.

In acting so the UN *ipso facto* opened the doors of the UN, inviting the representatives of

the Palestinian Liberation Organization to join with them and participate in the assembly debate.

Now the UN and the world will have the opportunity to see a spotlight put on the U.S. imperialist-sponsored reactionary Zionist-Israeli regime who practice *mass terrorism* against the Palestinian Freedom Fighters, who organize genocide against the Palestinian people, who continue their aggression with arrogance by occupying foreign lands, homes and personal possessions of a people who nurtured, tilled and watered the native soil with their sweat and blood for over 5,000 years.

Thus, the Korean question on the agenda of the 29th Session of UNGA is considered at a most favorable time for all anti-imperialist forces of the world.

Already, U.S. imperialism, preparing for the day when the UN Security Council may finally decide to terminate the UNC (US military presence in south Korea) has, via press briefings and its spokesmen, using foreign capitals for that purpose, issued statements and signals asserting that: "Only about 100 of the U.S. troops were actually under the UN command and UN flag." "The bulk" were in south Korea under the bilaterial defense agreement. Quoted from *Mainichi Daily News,* August 28th, from a press briefing by a U.S. spokesman Country Sheldon.

Thus, U.S. imperialism is already indicating that despite the possible decision of the U.N. General Assembly in favor of the thirty-seven nation proposal on Korea, it would withdraw only a small contingent and attempt to convince the world that it is carrying through the decision of the United Nations.

A spokesman for the Permanent Observer Mission of the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea to the United Nations, its Press Officer, Kim Chung Gol, "strongly objected to the presence of any U.S. troops in south Korea, even if they are under the bilateral defense agreement between Washington and Seoul, rather than under the UN flag." *Mainichi Daily News,* August 28th.

In a speech by President Kim Il Sung in Pyongyang welcoming the President of Syria, Hafez Al Assad, Kim declared: "Korea is one and ours is a homogeneous nation; therefore, it can never be split into two nor can it be divided into two countries forever . . .

"First of all, foreign troops bearing the signboard of the "UN forces" must get out of south Korea as soon as possible in order to ease tensions in Korea.

"Once foreign troops pull out of South Korea, a wide avenue will be opened for the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea. . . .

"If the foreign troops which have obstructed the peaceful reunification of Korea and caused constant danger of war there . . . withdraw in accordance with a resolution of the UN General Assembly, it will provide a firm guarantee for the preservation of peace in Korea and there will arise no question of some other guarantee.

"If any question arises after the withdrawal of foreign troops, it will not be a problem which any third party should meddle in, but an internal affair of the Koreans themselves—a matter of such character as should be settled through negotiations between the parties concerned in the north and south. The North-South Joint Statement is a firm basis for such negotiations."

POETRY BORN IN STRUGGLE

(Continued from Page 12)

Franco fascist forces, aided by the Hitler-Mussolini axis and abetted by the phony non-intervention "democracies," England, France and the United States, were threatening to destroy University City and capture Madrid.

The four generals (Los Quatro Generales) Emilio Mola, Jose Varela, Gonzalo Queipo de Llano and Francisco Franco, all of whom originally swore to "uphold and defend the Republic," became the paid agents of the fascist Hitler-Mussolini axis and the Spanish reactionaries and betrayed their sworn oath to the Republic by initiating a military putsch against the elected Republic.

The students and soldiers fighting to defend University City, with arms in hand, were inspiring all the Madrilenos and all of Spain to give battle to fascism with ther song Los Quatro Generales—"the traitorous four generals."

This was the historical epoch in history when the people of the world and in the first place the Spaniards, began the great march of humanity to militarily destroy fascism—a system of government which a weakened capitalism wish to impose on the peoples when they cannot rule any more via the fraudulent form of bourgeois democracy.

That march of humanity, From Madrid To Stalingrad To Victory, has forever ruptured the backbone of world capitalism and ever since they have been limping from one social economic crisis to another.

The songs, the Marseillaise, the International, Solidarity Forever, We Shall Overcome and many other songs and poems born from the heroism of fighting humanity for freedom and justice always finds its authors, not in Ivory Towers, plush night clubs or lovely Romeo-and-Juliet balconies, but from the thoughts and lips of the fighters for freedom whether behind bars in prison, or on the barricades with arms in hand.

Such is the background of Kim Chi Ha in present-day fascist south Korea.

He was born 34 years ago as the only son

Kim Chi Ha

of a film technician father and good natured mother, in a small city called Wonju in Kangon Province. After finishing middle school in Wonju he came to Seoul where he finished high school and college through his own efforts.

Experiencing all the hardships of poverty, and the turbulent student demonstrations in the 1960s, he grew up as a truthful intellectual with a keen interest and love for people and country; then started to write poems expressing what he saw and experienced and learned. Success was instant when he published his first book of poems entitled "The Yellow Soil" in 1970. Later it was banned from all book stores.

As the corruption and political repressions of the Park Chung Hee dictatorship mounted, Kim Chi Ha's writing also took on a new dimension in which he satirized all the political, economic and social ills, and in 1970 he was arrested for expressing his disgust with the corruption of the generals, by composing by now his most famous poem "Five Thieves."

In 1970 Kim was arrested for writing this poem. His poem was considered a violation of the anti-communist and national security laws. Since that time, Kim has been arrested and subjected to every conceivable means of torture for his compassion for the poor and alienated.

For the past ten years Kim has been an outspoken critic of the Park Chung Hee government. He was one of the leaders of the 1964 student demonstration against the Park Chung Hee-inspired south Korean-Japan normalization of relations.

In 1972 he was again arrested for composing a poem called "Groundless Rumor" which described the life of a working man and attacks the wealthy.

In January 1974 Kim joined the group of sixty other literary figures in south Korea who published a petition denouncing the lack of freedom under Park's government and called for the return of democracy.

On July 11 of 1974, after numerous harassments by the Korean CIA, the military court martial in Seoul sentenced Kim to death along with other leaders of the National Democratic Youth and Student League, which had staged a nationwide student demonstration against the fascist Park Chung Hee regime on April 3rd. However, due to tremendous domestic and international protests against this outrageous sentence, the Park regime was forced to commute his sentence to life imprisonment.

Although his voice will be heard no longer for the present his writing and personal example will inspire all Koreans, especially the young generation, to continue the struggle against all forces of militarism, fascism, foreign imperialism and its agents, the Park Chung Hee regime.

In his last statement before the death sentence was imposed Kim Chi Ha said:

It is better for the Korean masses of people if the Park regime perishes as quickly as possible."

A statement put out by Friends of Kim Chi Ha in the U.S.A. and appearing in "Insight," a Korean-American magazine published by Korean residents in the United States, called upon "all freedom-loving people and friends of Korea to render their support to secure the safety and immediate release of Kim Chi Ha and thousands of innocent students, Christians and other patriotic Koreans who are being persecuted for demanding democracy in south Korea.

Write to:

President Park Chung Hee, Blue House, Seoul, ROK.

President Gerald R. Ford, White House, Washington, DC.

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, State Department, Washington, DC.,

Following are some of the poems of Kim Chi Ha:

THE FIVE THIEVES

Kim Chi Ha's most famous poem, titled "The Five Thieves," describes an orgiastic contest in corruption between officials, businessmen and generals:

Long ago peace reigned over the land.
Farmers ate to their fill. Many died of ruptured sides.
People went naked because thy became tired of fine silk.
But right in the middle of Seoul there lived five thieves.
Watch the general—he crawls on all fours, with tens of thousands of medals made of gold and silver wrapped around his body.
He misappropriates his soldiers' rice and fills the sacks with sand.
What wonderful war tactics he has.

FRAGMENT

The ministers and vice ministers are coming out . . .
They command the national defense with their
Golf club in their left hand,
While fondling the breasts of their mistresses
With their right.

GROUNDLESS RUMORS

"Hell, what a bitch this world is!"
No sooner were these words out of his mouth than clink clank
Handcuffs were at once put on both hands of Ando who was dragged to the court
Thonk, thonk, thonk . . .
"What's the charge?"
"His crime is that of standing on his two feet and spitting groundless rumors from his mouth, committing the crime of
Unwarranted touching of the ground with his two feet . . .
In spite of his poverty-stricken status, crime of wasting time in thinking . . . crime of
Inhaling the air and expanding his thorax, crime of forgetting his status and violating the right to stand upright which is granted only to a special privileged class, crime of insolently avoiding
The national policies for more production, export, construction without resting . . .

Crme of thinking up groundless rumors which would mislead the innocent people
Crime of intending to pronounce the same rumors, crime of pronouncing same
Crime of intending to spread the same, crime of spreading the same, crime of . . .
Possibly helping the enemy, crime of entertaining anti-system thought . . .
And on top of these the accusee committed the crime of violating the special society manipulating law, and therefore is found guilty.
He shall be placed in confinement for five hundred years from this date.

THE ROAD TO SEOUL

I am going
Don't cry, I am going
On the burdensome road to Seoul,
Crossing the white and black, thirsty passes
To sell my chastity.

Without a promise of when I'll return,
When I'll come back with brightly blooming smiles
And without the sorry promise of untying the ribbon*
I am going
However hard and tough life may be
Can I forget the marvel of Peru,** the smell of wheat!
I'll not forget, cherishing them deeply in my heart.
I might come back in dreams with tears;
I might return with starlight if it's night.

I am going
Don't cry, I am going
On the burdensome road to Seoul,
Crossing the thirsty passes which make even the sky weary,
To sell my chastity.

"THE YELLOW DUST ROAD"

Along the vivid bloom, blood on the yellow road
I am going, Daddy, where you died.
Now it's pitch dark; only the sun scorches
Two hands are barbed-wired
The hot sun burns sweat and tears and rice-paddies
Under the bayonets through the summer heat.
I am going, Daddy, where you died
Where you died wrapped in a rice-sack
When the trouts were jumping along the Bujoo brookside (1)

When the blaze rose from Opo Hill every night (2)
On that day when the sun brightly shone on the yellow land
The muddy land resilient as the gorses that grow intrepidly green
Shall we cry out the hurrah of that day?
Shall we sing the song of that day?

In the small Whadang village embraced among the sparse bamboo-bushes
Blood wells up in every well, every ten years
Ago, born in this barren colony
Slain under the bayonets, my Daddy.
How could the dews that spring in the bamboo-buds
Forget, ever forget the crystal brightness of May
It was a long and cruel summer
Even kids were starving to death
The sultry summer of blatant tyranny
That even didn't know of the Heavens
At last, all the time of the motherland, the yellow road,
And our hope.

Along the muddy beach where the sun burns the old wooden boats to dust
Again through the rice paddies
And over the bleached, whitish furrows
It's been ten years since the hurrah of that day
That thundered the every blue and high firmament
keep tightening
In the flesh, in the breath, the barbed wires
Hearing, and sobbing, in your voice
I am going now, Daddy where you died.

When the trouts were jumping along the Bujoo Brookside
Wrapped in the rice-sack
Where you died.

---

* *Untying the ribbon symbolizes marriage.*
** *Marvel of Peru is the English name for a flower which grows profusely in the Korean countryside.*

26, Going on 27

(Continued from page 10)

and all are evenly well off, working and studying without any worries.

"The entire people are firmly armed with the immortal Juche idea, with one ideology and one will and the whole society is pervaded with the dynamic and animating revolutionary spirit.

"All the victories and successes gained by our people in the building of a new society in the past are the fruition of wise leadership.

A host of difficulties lay on the road ahead of the Republic, he noted, and stressed: "But our Republic . . . has forged ahead with the Juche idea as the immovable guiding principle in its activities and thereby overcome manifold difficulties and trials, won shining victories and performed great feats which will shine forever in the annals of the fatherland . . .

"Our working people are effecting new innovations day by day in the grand socialist construction by vigorously waging the "speed battle," holding aloft the Red banner of the three revolutions, ideological, technical and cultural.

"This year, too, like last year, an unusual bumper harvest has been brought about thanks to the energetic endeavors made by our agricultural working people to adorn this year, the 10th anniversary of the publication of the thesis on the rural question, with greater upsurge in the agricultural production. This is a great victory of "Theses on the Socialist Rural Question in Our Country" and a shining fruition of the agricultural policy of our Party.

"If we continue to dash forward at as fast a speed as we do now, we will hit all the targets of the Six-Year Plan put forward before the 30th Anniversary of the founding of the Party and, furthermore, successfully attain the prospective ten major goals of economic construction."

The main targets after the fulfillment of the Six-Year Plan (1971-1976) 12 million tons of steel. 1 million tons of non-ferrous metal, 100 million tons of coal, 50,000 kwh of electric power, 20 million tons of cement, 5 million tons of machinery and equipment, 5 million tons of marine products, 5 million tons of chemical fertilizers, 100,000 chongbo of reclaimbed tideland and 10 milion tons of grain

Kim Il went on:

"From the first days of its founding, our Republic has invariably made all sincere efforts to reunify the divided country independently. But, due to the manoeuvres of the U.S. imperialists and their stooges the country has not yet been reunified and great difficulties lie as ever on the road to reunification.

"Even after they were compelled to turn up to the place of dialogue with us under the pressure of the people, the Park Chung Hee puppet clique obdurately pursued the splittist line and war policy at the instigation of the U.S. imperialists, employing the crafty double-dealing tactics from the beginning. The south Korean puppet clique are intensifying as never before the fascist repression of the south Korean people who call for the democratization of society and national reunification and resorting to ever more craftier slander and vilification and hostile acts against the northern half of the Republic.

"The south Korean reactionaries are making last-ditch efforts with the frantic fascist tyranny and "anti-communist" din to extricate them-

selves from the doom which has already been sealed off. But it is of no use.

"Where there is exploitation and oppression, there always comes resistance and where there is resistance there always comes a revolutionary struggle. The south Korean people will wage a stauncher struggle against the oppressors to win freedom and liberation and pass a stern judgment upon those who take the road of war and fascism, betraying the nation.

"The south Korean puppet clique must discontinue the treachery of selling off the country and the nation to the U.S. imperialists, give up the war provocation manoeuvres against the northern half of the Republic and the "anti-communist" racket, stop the fascist repression of the south Korean people and immediately release all the arrested patriotic people of various strata.

"Along with this they must give up the shameless plot to hold in check the just activities of the General Association of Korean residents in Japan (Chongryun), a dignified organization of overseas citizens of the Republic.

"The U.S. imperialists and the Japanese reactionaries must stop the gamble of encouraging and instigating the Park Chung Hee puppet clique who are engrossed in the fascist repression and war provocation manoeuvres and the U.S. imperialists must withdraw their aggressor troops, fraudulently operating under the false banner of the "UN Forces" from south Korea at an early date.

"The only way to ensure peace in Korea and achieve the reunification of the country is to realize three principles and five-point proposition of national reunification put forward by Comrade Kim Il Sung. This is the only way to solve the question of national reunification independently and peacefully by our peoples themselves without any interference of outside forces on the basis of great national unity.

"Our Party and the Government of the Republic will struggle with might and main in the future, too, to achieve the independent and peaceful reunification of the country."

Kim Il concluded:

"Today the world people demand independence and take the road of independence. This is an irrestible trend of our era.

"The independent and principled foreign policy of the Government of the Republic has evoked active support and sympathy among more and more countries of the world and the international solidarity with our revolution is strengthening day by day.

"The government of the Republic will strengthen unity with the international revolutionary forces and resolutely fight against imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism, enforcing an independent foreign policy in the future, too, and continue to struggle to build a peaceful and happy, new world, a world where there is neither imperialism nor exploitation or oppression.

"The Government of the Republic will continue to vigorously fight for peace, democracy, national independence and the victory of the cause of socialism in unity with the peoples of the socialist countries, in unity with the peoples of the third world countries and in unity with all the peace-loving peoples of the world, holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and the revolutionary banner of the anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. struggle.

"Our struggle is just and victory certainly belongs to us."

26th ANNIVERSARY OF THE DPRK

(Continued from page 11)

erfully pushing ahead with the revolutionary struggle and construction work, and to consolidate the socialist system, Pak Sung Chul said: "We have steadily conducted monolithic ideological education and revolutionary education, with main stress on the ideological revolution aimed at firmly arming all the working people with the revolutionary ideas of the leadership and educating them to have infinite loyalty to and become communist revolutionaries of Juche type."

Referring to the achievements made in the technical revolution, he pointed out: "Enormous successes have been achieved notably in carrying out the three tasks of the technical revolution.

"Comprehensive mechanization, semi-automation have been energetically effected and industrial TV devices and remote control widely introduced in our mining industry and other domains involving labor-consuming and toilsome work in recent years. As a result the difference between heavy and light labor has been narrowed down step by step.

"Irrigation and electrification were completed and comprehensive mechanization and all-round chemicalization are making successful progress in our countryside. . . .

"The work of completely industrializing and modernizing agriculture is being successfully pushed ahead in our countryside."

In referring to the progress made in the cultural revolution, he stated: "The material and cultural standards of the people are rising with each passing day.

"It is amidst this gigantic struggle of huge socialist construction to increase the economic potential of the country several times that the base of the mining industry has been consolidated markedly and vast projects for expanding metallurgical, power, chemical and building materials and other heavy industrial bases are making rapid progress.

"Scores of new light industrial factories have sprung up in every province to consolidate the light industrial base all the more and our agricultural working people are confidently looking ahead to a bumper crop previously unknown, bringing about a new great upsurge in all domains of agricultural production this year.

Pak Sung Chul

"We will hit all the targets of the Six-Year Plan ahead of schedule, before the 30th Anniversary of the founding of our Party, which falls on October 10, 1975, by waging a more energetic struggle for grand socialist construction and lay a firm groundwork for successfully attaining the major goals of economic construction under the next perspective plan."

Pak Sung Chul then spoke about the problems of national reunification. He said: "The only way of putting an end to the national misfortunes imposed upon our people by the division of the country and delivering the south Korean people, in particular, from the present miserable lot, lies in chasing the U.S. imperialist aggressors out of south Korea and reunifying the country."

Pak Sung Chul continued: "But owing to the vicious nation-splitting maneuvers of the U.S. imperialists who dislike the reunification

of Korea and their lackeys, the Park Chung Hee puppet clique, the North-South Joint Statement is now being wantonly trampled down and the north-south dialogue is on the brink of rupture and difficulties are still lying in the way of national reunification.

"The 'special statement' made by traitor Park Chung Hee in June last year was a declaration unilaterally breaking the north-south dialogue that had been under way amid the expectation of the whole nation, a treacherous declaration of national split openly challenging the aspiration of our people for reunification and a vicious perfidy against them.

"Some time ago the Park Chung Hee puppet clique clamored about a 'non-aggression pact' and 'elections' under the watchword 'peace comes first and reunification next.' This is nothing but a foolish trick to mislead public opinion at home and abroad.

"Grave difficulties are still lying in the way of national reunification in spite of the burning desire of the entire Korean people and our patient efforts. It is entirely due to the treacherous and nation-splitting maneuvers of the Park Chung Hee puppet clique who have sought only north-south antagonism and confrontation and split under the wire-pulling of the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

"The government of the DPRK will, in the future as in the past, firmly maintain the line of independent, peaceful reunification and make all efforts to have the question of national reunification settled by the efforts of the Koreans themselves, peacefully," the report declared, and continued:

"What is important and urgent for frustrating the nation-splitting maneuvers of the Park Chung Hee fascist clique and paving the way for the independent, peaceful reunification of the country is to realize the democratization of south Korean society.

"Though the struggle of the south Korean people against fascism and for democracy is undergoing temporary ordeals, today due to the harsh repression by the Pak Chung Hee fascist clique, their struggle is developing to a higher stage, he said."

Noting that the question of Korea's reunification is an internal affair and should be solved by the Korean people themselves without any outside interference, Pak Sung Chul said: "The U.S. imperialists should discontinue their aggression against and interference in our country, accept our peace agreement proposals without delay and pull out of south Korea at once.

"If the U.S. imperialists, in disregard of the repeated warnings of our people, continue to back up the corrupt and tyrannical regime of military fascist dictatorship rejected by the people, and perpetrate dangerous war gambles, persisting in actions of aggression and interference and dare unleash a war of aggression against us, our people will resolutely rise up and wipe out the enemy to the last man."

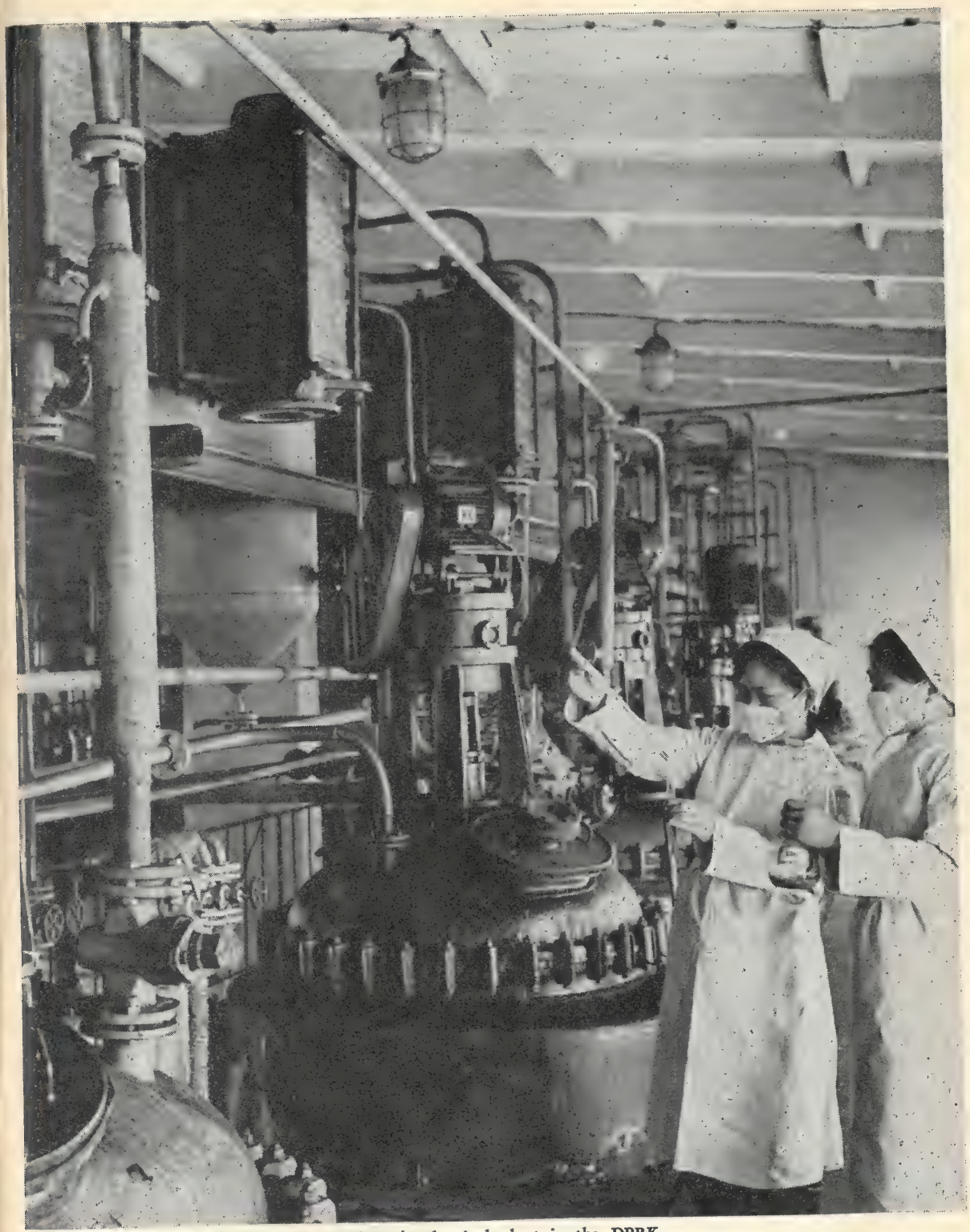
Summarizing his statement regarding the advances made by the DPRK in foreign relations and the strengthening of its international solidarity, Pak Sung Chul said: "It has now become an irresistible trend that more and more countries of the world want to have diplomatic relations with the DPRK and develop friendly and cooperative relations with it in many fields of politics, economy and culture.

"Eloquent proof of this is the fact that scores of countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe have established diplomatic relations with our country only in the past one or two years.

"Our Republic has joined many international organizations and attended many international meetings, despite all the obstructive maneuvers of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries and their lackeys, making positive contributions to the correct solution of international problems and to the common cause of the peoples of the world.

"A proposal for withdrawing all foreign troops stationed in south Korea under the UN flag submitted to the UN under the co-sponsorship of 37 countries including Algeria is an absolutely correct step which fully accords with the desires of the Korean people to solve independently the question of national reunification," he noted.

He denounced the Park Chung Hee fascist clique for maliciously slandering the northern half of the Republic, and committing provocative acts against it and Chongryon (The General Association of Korean Residents in Japan), in the provocative "shooting incident" that occurred in south Korea recently, and further castigated them for asking the Japanese gov-



Workers in chemical plant in the DPRK.

Tilling the rich soil of the DPRK.

ernment to suppress the Koreans and their organization, Chongryon, in Japan, "the organization which is the true defender of the Korean residents' democratic and national rights."

"This is a cunning political ruse to wreck the north-south dialogue, justify their policy of fascist repression and divert elsewhere the attention of the people at home and abroad; it is a reckless act designed to aggravate the tension between the north and the south deliberately and ignite another war in our country."

He concluded his declaration by stating that the peoples of socialist countries, the third world and the peace loving peoples in the rest of the world fully support the Korean people in their struggles and he expressed deep thanks to them on behalf of the DPRK government and the Korean people.

He concluded with these final remarks: "Holding high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and the revolutionary banner of anti-imperialist, anti-U.S. struggle, the Government of the DPRK and the Korean people will continue vigorously to fight for the triumph of the cause of peace and democracy, and national independence and socialism in unity with the peoples of the socialist countries, in unity with the world working class, in unity with the third world peoples and in unity with all the peace-loving people throughout the world."

Editorial on the 26th Anniversary

(Continued from page 11)

rubble left by the bombing of the Korean War, the people of the DPRK have built a major industrial economy and established cooperative farming. All of their labor not only enriches their personal lives, but through collective saving and reinvestment of their capital, it is promoting a rapidly growing economy which makes possible cultural development for all the people. The most striking evidence is, of course, universal compulsory education for all the urban and rural children in schools that have competent, dedicated teachers.

The whole country abounds in evidence of the blessings of socialism. Everywhere there are new and comfortable apartment buildings or tile-roofed cottages for peasants. There is within easy reach (economic as well as geographic) medical care for all. There is no such thing as inflation to eat away one's work and savings, for prices stay steady or decline. Everyone is well-fed, well-clothed, and energetic in his activities. People have no fear of the dehumanization of joblessness, for full and secure employment is one of the essentials of a planned economy. Everywhere the streets and public places truly belong to the people, for they are clean, due to the respect accorded them and they are safe so that they can be enjoyed. Socialist law and order is one of the accomplishments of socialist justice.

What has been accomplished in the DPRK is something for all the world to celebrate. What is possible for Korea is possible for any people who expend a collective effort guided by an ideology that respects nature and respects the dignity of human labor. As we penetrate deeper into the laws of nature through science, we must learn to use what nature offers even as we treasure its bounty for all the future generations of man. The greatest safeguard in this respect is that we learn the value of human beings as a part of nature, to see in the human being both the product of a long species evolution and the progenitor of a fuller humanity. Each individual is thus to be respected as a worker, an intellectual, an artist. In the fulfillment of these capacities, the human being and the society that creates such a human being, contribute to the furtherance of our human destiny.

In the DPRK the liberation process goes forward. For the first time in thousands of years of Korean national development, women play an equal role with men in the political processes, they train for technical roles, and they cultivate their intellects at schools ranging through the university. Peasants, too, are experiencing a liberation from the cultural backwardness which rural life has historically entailed. Not only are their children getting opportunities to equal schooling, but the DPRK is making serious efforts to reduce the drudgery of farm labor and to enrich the cultural opportunities of the villages.

In this twenty-seventh year of the DPRK's life we celebrate their accomplishments and look forward to the future with both awe and confidence.

U.S. SAILOR EYES SOUTH KOREA

South Korea, under the presidency of Park Chung Hee, is one of the stronger backers of American foreign policy. President Nixon himself is undergoing a troubled year of his six years in office. He realizes that America is losing its control over the economic and political conditions in various countries it controls throughout the world. Nixon realizes that his grip on Vietnam, Korea and other countries is becoming more difficult to maintain. His goal is to freeze the situation before it gets any worse. For example, Park is a puppet of the U.S. Any move he makes is with permission of the U.S. But Park has lost control of Korea and is not effective for the U.S. at this date.

1974 is the 13th year of Park's control in south Korea. He is presently facing the worst crisis of his rule as is Nixon. Park has lost the trust and respect of the Korean people. He tends to lean heavily in favor of using the KCIA, Korean Army and the police to confront any difficulty he is faced with. His trust in the military is fading as he fired the general in charge of the army and also the head of the KCIA. Even when Park spoke at the commencement ceremonies at University of Seoul in May of 1973 he was not given the respect that natives normally give to their leaders. Not one student stood up in respect or applauded when Park had finished speaking.

South Korea has the tightest security system in the world beefed up over the years as Park lost more and more respect from the south Koreans. At the present time, the South Korean army is manned by more than 700,000 troops. There are 20,000 fulltime CIA working for Park and 400,000 part time CIA. To back up the CIA and the army are 200,000 police. South Korea has a population of 27,000,000 people; one-half are women and one-third are old people or children. This means that out of every 27 persons one of them is a spy or for every ten working person, one is an informant, spy, KCIA, or a member of the Korean Armed Forces. Children have been known to turn in their parents or brothers and sisters if they heard anything slightly suspicious against the Park government.

South Korea is an agricultural country which, regardless of U.S. economic aid, is failing to produce a sizeable crop to feed its own people let alone export for badly needed capital. South Korea imports rice, its staple crop, from Japan, the U.S. and other allies. Koreans are forbidden to eat rice every third day. Even a first class hotel such as the Seoul Hilton cannot serve rice to its paying customers. One million families are starving and more are without jobs. One-third of all the school-aged children are out in the streets begging for food, for an extra won, for clothing . . . One reads the advertisement section of the south Korean newspapers and sees ads from people trying to sell their eyes, their blood and any part of their body which might bring them money to buy food and clothing. Young girls, just thirteen and fourteen, are out in the streets and in the brothels selling their bodies for less than $20.00 a month. Korean women, who were famous for their chastity and virtue, have been reduced to the lowest and evilest profession in the world because they are hungry and there are no other jobs available. Park himself has been heard to say that he would be happy if all women were prostitutes, including his wife. He seems to think wrongly that women are forever inferior.

This article on south Korea was written by an American sailor who is on active duty with the U.S. 7th Fleet.

Why Not Team Up With Us?

We are an anti-imperialist peace organization, devoted to friendship between the peoples of the United States and Korea, especially the people of the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea (North Korea).

Our main function is to disseminate among the American people information regarding the historic background of the Korean people, the Korean nation and current problems in respect to reunification.

Governments may establish diplomatic relations between countries, which is normal, acceptable and expected, if nations are to live in peace with each other. But such diplomatic relations does not, ipso facto, guarantee people-to-peaple friendship.

The very guarantee that diplomatic relations between countries will continue to grow, develop and mature, is to develop and strengthen the friendship of the people of the respective countries. That is why we invite you:

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- To take an interest in and study the development of relations between the U.S. and Korea, north and south.
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Whatever contribution you make in whatever field you choose, you are actively participating in the great crusade of mankind, through detente and peaceful co-existence, to make war between nations and people a ghastly memory of the past.

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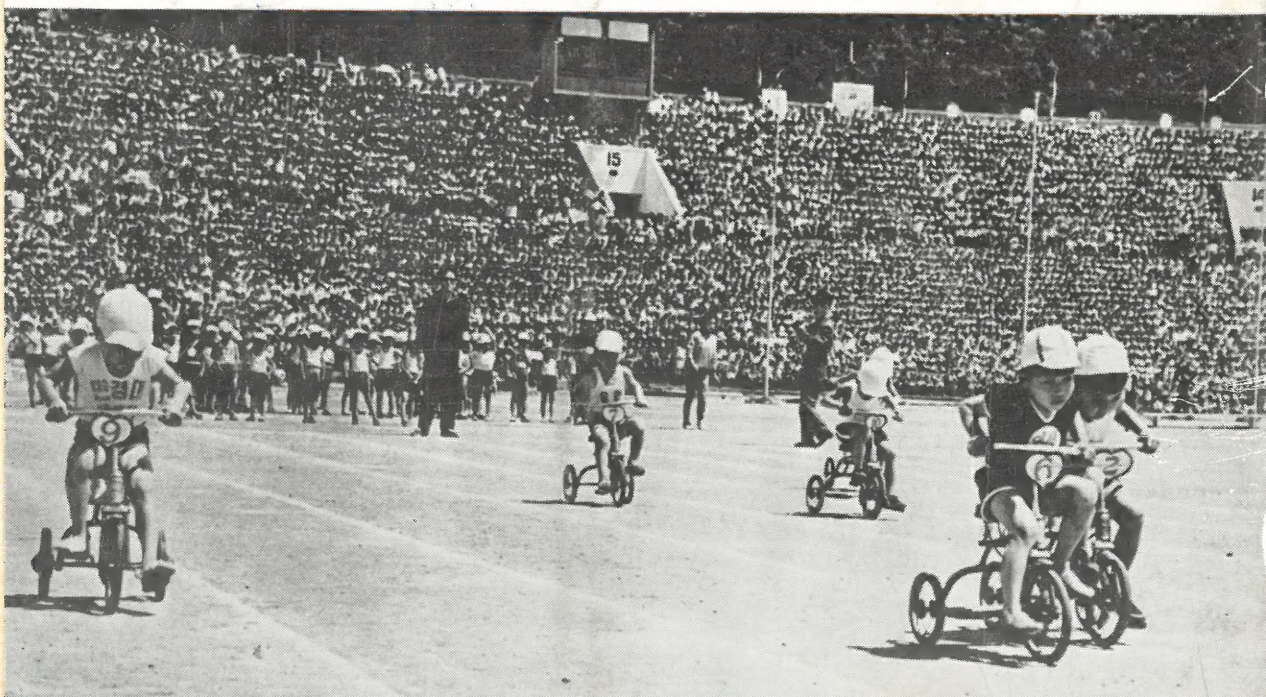
HAPPY CHILDREN: THE HOPE AND FUTURE OF MANKIND